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THE
WORKS

OF

Dr. Jonathan Swift,

Dean of St. PATRICK's, Dublin.

VOLUME VIII.

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C O N T E N T S

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V O L U M E VIII.

T HE EXAMINER, Number XIII.	Pag. I
XIV.	9
XV.	17
XVI.	26
XVII.	36
XVIII.	45
XIX.	54
XX.	63
XXI.	72
XXII.	81
XXIII.	91
XXIV.	100
XXV.	109
XXVI.	119
XXVII.	128
XXVIII.	137
XXIX.	146
XXX.	155
XXXI.	163
XXXII.	170
XXXIII.	179
XXXIV.	189
XXXV.	197
XXXVI.	205

The EXAMINER, Number XXXVII.	Pag. 214
XXXVIII.	222
XXXIX.	231
XL.	240
XLI.	248
XLII.	256
XLIII.	264
XLIV.	272
<i>Some advice to the members of the October Club,</i>	281

T H E
E X A M I N E R.

N U M B E R XIII.

THURSDAY, November 2, 1710.

*longa est injuria, longae
Ambages; sed summa sequar fastigia rerum.*

IT is a practice I have generally followed, to converse in equal freedom with the deserving men of both parties; and it was never without some contempt, that I have observed persons wholly out of employment affect to do otherwise. I doubted, whether any man could owe so much to the side he was of, although he were retained by it: but without some great point of interest, either in possession or prospect, I thought it was the mark of a low and narrow spirit.

It is hard, that for some weeks past I have been forced, in my own defence, to follow a proceeding that I have so much condemned in others. But several of my acquaintance, among the declining party, are grown so insufferably peevish and splenetick, profess such violent apprehensions for the publick, and represent the state of things in such formidable ideas, that I find myself disposed to share in their afflictions; although I know them to be groundless

and imaginary, or, which is worse, purely affected. To offer them comfort one by one, would be not only an endless, but a disobliging task. Some of them, I am convinced, would be less melancholy if there were more occasion. I shall therefore, instead of hearkening to farther complaints, employ some part of this paper for the future in letting such men see, that their natural or acquired fears are ill-grounded, and their artificial ones as ill-intended; that all our present inconveniencies are the consequence of the very counsels they so much admire, which would still have encreased if those had continued; and that neither our constitution in church or state could probably have been long preserved without such methods as have been already taken.

THE late revolutions at court have given room to some specious objections, which I have heard repeated by well-meaning men, just as they had taken them up on the credit of others, who have worse designs. They wonder, the QUEEN would chuse to change her ministry at this juncture, and thereby give uneasiness to a general, who hath been so long successful abroad, and might think himself injured, if the entire ministry were not of his own nomination; that there were few complaints of any consequence against the late men in power, and none at all in parliament, which on the contrary passed votes in favour of the chief minister; that, if her majesty had a mind to introduce the other party, it would have been more seasonable after a peace, which now

we

we have made desperate by spiriting the *French* who rejoice in these changes, and by the fall of our credit which unqualifies us for carrying on the war; that the parliament, so untimely dissolved, had been diligent in their supplies, and dutiful in their behaviour; that one consequence of these changes appears already in the fall of the stocks; that we may soon expect more and worse; and lastly, that all this naturally tends to break the settlement of the crown, and call over the *Pretender*.

These, and the like notions, are plentifully scattered abroad by the malice of a ruined party, to render the QUEEN and her administration odious, and to inflame the nation. And these are what, upon occasion, I shall endeavour to overthrow by discovering the falshood and absurdity of them.

It is a great unhappiness, when, in a government constituted like ours, it should be so brought about, that the continuance of a war must be for the interest of vast numbers (civil as well as military) who otherwise would have been as unknown as their original. I think our present condition of affairs is admirably described by two verses in *Lucan*:

Hinc usura vorax, avidumque in tempore fœnus;

Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum:

which, without any great force upon the words, may be thus translated:

Hence are derived those exorbitant interests and annuities; hence those large discounts for advance and prompt payment; hence publick credit is shaken; and hence great numbers find their profit in prolonging the war.

It is odd, that among a free trading people, as we call ourselves, there should so many be found to close in with those counsels, who have been ever averse from all overtures towards a peace : but yet there is no great mystery in the matter. Let any man observe the equipages in this town, he shall find the greater number of those, who make a figure, to be a species of men quite different from any that were ever known before the Revolution ; consisting either of generals and colonels, or of those whose whole fortunes lie in funds and stocks : So that *power*, which, according to the old maxim, was used to follow *land*, is now gone over to *money* ; and the country gentleman is in the condition of a young heir, out of whose estate a scrivener receives the rents for interest, and hath a mortgage on the whole ; and is therefore always ready to feed his vices and extravagances, while there is any thing left. So that, if the war continue some years longer, a landed man will be little better than a farmer of a rack-rent to the army and to the publick funds.

It may perhaps be worth enquiring, from what beginnings and by what steps we have been brought into this desperate condition : and in search of this we must run up as high as the Revolution.

Most of the nobility and gentry, who invited over the prince of *Orange*, or attended him in his expedition, were true lovers of their country and its constitution in church and state ; and were brought to yield to those breaches in the succession of the crown, out of a regard to the necessity of
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the kingdom and safety of the people, which did, and could only, make them lawful; but without intention of drawing such a practice into precedent, or making it a standing measure by which to proceed in all times to come; and therefore we find their counsels ever tended to keep things, as much as possible, in the old course. But soon after, an under sett of men, who had nothing to lose, and had neither borne the burthen nor heat of the day, found means to whisper in the king's ear, that the principles of *England* were wholly inconsistent with the *Revolution*. Hence began the early practice of caressing the Dissenters, reviling the universities as maintainers of arbitrary power, and reproaching the clergy with the doctrines of *divine right*, *passive obedience*, and *non-resistance*. At the same time, in order to fasten wealthy people to the new government, they proposed those pernicious expedients of borrowing money by vast *premiums*, and at exorbitant interest: a practice as old as *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* captains, who, setting up for himself after the death of his master, persuaded the principal officers to lend him great sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own security.

This introduced a number of new dextrous men into business and credit. It was argued, that the war could not last above two or three campaigns; and that it was easier for the subjects to raise a fund for paying interest, than to tax them annually to the full expence of the war. Several persons, who had

small or incumbered estates, sold them, and turned their money into those funds to great advantage: merchants, as well as other monied men, finding trade was dangerous, pursued the same method. But the war continuing, and growing more expensive, taxes were increased, and funds multiplied every year, till they have arrived at the monstrous height we now behold them; and that, which was at first a corruption, is at last grown necessary, and what every good subject must now fall in with, although he may be allowed to wish it might soon have an end; because it is with a kingdom as with a private fortune, where every new incumbrance adds a double weight. By this means the wealth of a nation, that used to be reckoned by the value of land, is now computed by the rise and fall of stocks: and although the foundation of credit be still the same, and upon a bottom that can never be shaken, and although interest be duly paid by the public; yet, through the contrivance and cunning of *stock-jobbers*, there hath been brought in such a complication of knavery and cozenage, such a mystery of iniquity, and such an unintelligible jargon of terms to involve it in, as were never known in any other age or country in the world. I have heard it affirmed by persons skilled in these calculations, that if the funds appropriated to the payment of interest and annuities were added to the yearly taxes, and the four-shilling ^{aid} strictly exacted in all counties of the

kingdom, it would very near, if not fully, supply the occasions of the war; at least such a part as, in the opinion of very able persons, had been at that time prudent not to exceed. For I make it a question, whether any wise prince or state, in the continuance of a war which was not purely defensive, or immediately at his own door, did ever propose that his expence should perpetually exceed what he was able to impose annually upon his subjects? Neither, if the war last many years longer, do I see how the next generation will be able to begin another; which, in the course of human affairs, and, according to the various interests and ambition of princes, may be as necessary for them as it hath been for us. And if our fathers had left us as deeply involved as we are likely to leave our children, I appeal to any man, what sort of figure we should have been able to make these twenty years past. Besides, neither our enemies nor allies are upon the same foot with us in this particular. *France* and *Holland*, our nearest neighbours, and the farthest engaged, will much sooner recover themselves after a war: the first by the absolute power of the prince, who, being master of the lives and fortunes of his subjects, will quickly find expedients to pay his debts; and so will the other, by their prudent administration, the greatness of their trade, their wonderful parsimony, the willingness of their people to undergo all kinds of taxes, and their justice in

applying as well as collecting them. But above all we are to consider, that *France* and *Holland* fight on the continent, either upon or near their own territories, and the greatest part of the money circulates among themselves; whereas ours crosses the sea, either to *Flanders*, *Spain*, or *Portugal*, and every penny of it, whether in specie or returns, is so much lost to the nation for ever.

Upon these considerations alone, it was the most prudent course imaginable in the QUEEN, to lay hold of the disposition of the people for changing the parliament and ministry at this juncture, and extricating herself, as soon as possible, out of the pupillage of those who found their accounts only in perpetuating the war. Neither have we the least reason to doubt, but the ensuing parliament will assist her MAJESTY with the utmost vigour, until her enemies again be brought to sue for peace, and *again* offer such terms as will make it both honourable and lasting; only with this difference, that the ministry perhaps will not *again* refuse them.

*Audiet pugnas, vitio parentum
Rara, Juventus.*

NUMBER XIV.

THURSDAY, November 9, 1710.

*E quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
 Hi narrata ferunt alio : mensuraque fidei .
 Crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adjicit autor.
 Illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error,
 Vanaque Lætitia est, consternatique Timores,
 Seditioque recens, dubioque autore Sufurri.*

I AM prevailed on, through the importunity of friends, to interrupt the scheme I had begun in my last paper, by an Essay upon the art of *Political Lying*. We are told, *the devil is the father of lyes*, and *was a liar from the beginning* ; so that, beyond contradiction, the invention is old : and, which is more, his first Essay of it was purely *political*, employed in undermining the authority of his prince, and seducing a third part of the subjects from their obedience ; for which he was driven down from Heaven (where, as *Milton* expresseth it, he had been VICEROY of a great *western province*) and forced to exercise his talent in inferior regions among *other spirits*, or *poor deluded men*, whom he still daily tempts to *his own sin*, and will ever do so, till he be *chained in the bottomless pit*.

But although the devil be the father of *lies*, he seems, like other great inventors, to have lost much of his reputation, by the continual improvements that have been made upon him.

Who

Who first reduced *lying* into an art, and adapted it to *politicks*, is not so clear from history; although I have made some diligent enquiries. I shall therefore consider it only according to the modern system, as it hath been cultivated these twenty years past in the southern part of our own island.

The poets tell us, that after the giants were overthrown by the gods, the *earth* in revenge produced their last offspring, which was *Fame*. And the fable is thus interpreted; That, when tumults and seditions are quieted, rumours and false reports are plentifully spread through a nation. So that, by this account, *lying* is the last relief of a *routed, earth-born, rebellious party* in a state. But here the moderns have made great additions, applying this art to the gaining of power and preserving it, as well as revenging themselves after they have lost it; as the same instruments are made use of by animals to feed themselves when they are hungry, and to bite those that tread upon them.

But the same genealogy cannot always be admitted for *political lying*; I shall therefore desire to refine upon it, by adding some circumstances of its birth and parents. A *political lye* is sometimes born out of a discarded statesman's head, and thence delivered to be nursed and dandled by the *rabble*. Sometimes it is produced a monster, and *licked* into shape: at other times it comes into the world completely formed, and is spoiled in the *licking*. It is often born an infant in the regular way, and requires time to mature it; and often it sees the light in its full

growth, but dwindles away by degrees. Sometimes it is of noble birth; and sometimes the spawn of a *stock-jobber*. *Here* it screams aloud at the opening of the womb; and *there* it is delivered with a *whisper*. I know a *lye*, that now disturbs half the kingdom with its noise, which, although too proud and great at present to own its parents, I can remember its *whisper-hood*. To conclude the nativity of this monster; when it comes into the world without a *sting*, it is still-born; and whenever it loses its *sting*, it dies.

No wonder if an infant so miraculous in its birth should be destined for great adventures; and accordingly we see it hath been the *guardian spirit* of a *prevailing party* for almost twenty years. It can conquer kingdoms without fighting, and sometimes with the loss of a battle. It gives and resumes employments; can sink a mountain to a mole-hill, and raise a mole-hill to a mountain; hath presided for many years at committees of elections; can wash a *black-moor* white; make a saint an atheist, and a patriot of a profligate; can furnish *foreign ministers* with intelligence; and raise or let fall the credit of the nation. The goddess flies with a huge *looking-glass* in her hands to dazzle the croud, and make them see, according as she turns it, their ruin in their interest, and their interest in their ruin. In this glass you will behold your best friends clad in coats powdered with *fleurs de lis* and *triple crowns*, their girdles hung down with *chains*, and *beads*, and *wooden shoes*; and your worst enemies adorned with
 teh

the ensigns of *liberty*, *property*, *indulgence*, *moderation*, and a *cornucopia* in their hands. Her large wings, like those of a flying fish, are of no use but while they are moist; she therefore dips them in *mud*, and soaring aloft scatters it in the eyes of the multitude, flying with great swiftness; but at every turn is forced to stoop in *dirty ways* for new supplies.

I have been sometimes thinking, if a man had the art of the *second sight* for seeing *lies*, as they have in *Scotland* for seeing spirits, how admirably he might entertain himself in this town, by observing the different shapes, sizes, and colours of those swarms of *lies*, which buz about the heads of *some people*, like flies about a horse's ears in summer; or those legions hovering every afternoon in *Exchange-alley*, enough to darken the air; or over a club of discontented *grandees*, and thence sent down in cargoes to be scattered at elections.

There is one essential point wherein a *political liar* differs from others of the faculty; that he ought to have but a short memory, which is necessary according to the various occasions he meets with every hour of differing from himself, and swearing to both sides of a contradiction, as he finds the persons disposed, with whom he hath to deal. In describing the virtues and vices of mankind, it is convenient, upon every article, to have some eminent person in our eye, from whom we copy our description. I have strictly observed this rule; and my imagination

tion this minute represents before me a certain *great man* [a] famous for this talent, to the constant practice of which he owes his twenty years reputation of the most skilful head in *England* for the management of nice affairs. The superiority of his genius consists in nothing else but an inexhaustible fund of *political lyes*, which he plentifully distributes every minute he speaks, and by an unparalleled generosity forgets, and consequently contradicts, the next half hour. He never yet considered, whether any proposition were true or false, but whether it were convenient for the present minute or company to affirm or deny it; so that, if you think fit to refine upon him, by interpreting every thing he says, as we do dreams, by the contrary, you are still to seek, and will find yourself equally deceived whether you believe or no. The only remedy is to suppose, that you have heard some inarticulate sounds without any meaning at all; and besides, that will take off the horror you might be apt to conceive at the oaths, wherewith he perpetually tags both ends of every *proposition*; although at the same time, I think, he cannot, with any justice, be taxed with perjury, when he invokes *God* and *Christ*; because he hath often fairly given public notice to the word that he believes in neither.

Some people may think, that such an accomplishment as this can be of no great use to the

[a] The late earl of *Wharton*.

owner, or his party, after it hath been often practised and is become so notorious ; but they are widely mistaken. Few *lyes* carry the inventor's mark, and the prostitute enemy to truth may spread a thousand without being known for the author ; besides, as the vilest writer hath his readers, so the greatest *lyar* hath his believers : and it often happens, that if a *lye* be believed only for an hour, it hath done its work, and there is no farther occasion for it. *Falshood flies*, and *truth* comes *limping* after it ; so that when men come to be undeceived, it is too late ; the jest is over, and the tale hath had its effect : like a man, who has thought of a good repartee, when the discourse is changed, or the company parted ; or like a physician, who had found out an infallible medicine, after the patient is dead.

Considering that natural disposition in many men to *lye*, and in multitudes to *believe*, I have been perplexed what to do with that maxim so frequent in every body's mouth ; that *truth will at last prevail*. Here hath this island of ours, for the greatest part of twenty years, lain under the influence of such counsels and persons, whose principle and interest it was to corrupt our manners, blind our understanding, drain our wealth, and in time destroy our constitution both in church and state ; and we at last were brought to the very brink of ruin ; yet, by the means of perpetual representations, have never been able to distinguish between
our

our enemies and friends. We have seen a great part of the nation's money got into the hands of those, who, by their birth, education, and merit, could pretend no higher than to wear our liveries ; while others, who, by their credit, quality, and fortune, were only able to give reputation and success to the Revolution, were not only laid aside as dangerous and useless, but loaded with the scandal of *Jacobites*, men of *arbitrary principles*, and *pensioners to France* ; while Truth, who is said to *lie in a well*, seemed now to be buried there under a heap of stones. But I remember, it was an usual complaint among the *Whigs*, that the bulk of the landed men was not in their interest, which some of the wisest looked on as an ill omen ; and we saw it was with the utmost difficulty that they could preserve a majority, while the court and ministry were on their side, till they had learned those admirable expedients for deciding elections, and influencing distant boroughs by *powerful motives* from the city. But all this was mere force and constraint, however upheld by most dextrous artifice and management, until the people began to apprehend their *properties*, their *religion*, and the *monarchy* itself in danger ; then we saw them greedily laying hold on the first occasion to interpose. But of this mighty change in the dispositions of the people I shall discourse more at large in some following paper ; wherein I shall endeavour to undeceive or discover those deluded or deluding persons, who hope or pretend, it is only a short
madness

madness in the vulgar, from which they may soon recover; whereas, I believe, it will appear to be very different in its causes, its symptoms, and its consequences; and prove a great example to illustrate the maxim I lately mentioned, that *truth* (however sometimes late) *will at last prevail*.

NUM-

NUMBER XV.

THURSDAY, November 16, 1710.

*medioque ut limite curras,**Icare, ait, monco: ne, si demissior ibis,**Unda gravet pennas; si celsior, ignis adurat.*

IT must be allowed, that, for some years past, there have been few things more wanted in *England* than such a paper as this ought to be: and such as I will endeavour to make it, as long as it shall be found of any use, without entering into the violences of either party. Considering the many grievous misrepresentations of persons and things; it is highly requisite at this juncture, that the people throughout the kingdom should, if possible, be set right in their opinions by some impartial hand: which hath never been yet attempted; those who have hitherto undertaken it being, upon every account, the least qualified of all human kind for such a work.

We live here under a limited monarchy; and under the doctrine and discipline of an excellent church. We are unhappily divided into two parties, both which pretend a mighty zeal for our religion and government, only they disagree about the means. The evils, we must fence against, are on one side fanaticism and infidelity in religion; and anarchy, under the name of a common-wealth, in

government; on the other side, popery, slavery, and the pretender from *France*. Now to inform and direct us in our sentiments upon these weighty points, here are on one side two stupid illiterate scriblers, both of them *fanatics* by profession, I mean the *Review* and *Observer*; on the other side, we have an open *Nonjuror*, whose character and person, as well as learning and good sense discovered upon other subjects, do indeed deserve respect and esteem; but his *Rehearsal* and the rest of his political papers are yet more pernicious than those of the former two. If the generality of the people know not how to *talk* or *think*, until they have read their *lesson* in the papers of the week, what a misfortune is it, that their duty should be conveyed to them through such *vehicles* as those? For, let some gentlemen think what they please, I cannot but suspect, that the two worthies I first mentioned have, in a degree, done mischief among us: the mock authoritative manner of the one, and the insipid mirth of the other, however insupportable to reasonable ears, being of a level with great numbers among the lowest part of mankind. Neither was the author of the *Rehearsal*, while he continued that paper, less infectious to many persons of better figure, who perhaps were as well qualified, and much less prejudiced, to judge for themselves.

It was this reason, that moved me to take the matter out of those *rough*, as well as those *dirty* hands; to let the remote and uninstructed part of the nation see, that they have been misled on both
sides

sides by mad ridiculous extremes, at a wide distance on each side from the truth ; while the right path is so broad and plain as to be easily kept, if they were once put into it.

Further : I had lately entered on a resolution to take very little notice of other papers, unless it were such, where the malice and falshood had so great a mixture of wit and spirit, as would make them dangerous : which, in the present circle of scribblers, from twelve-pence to a half-penny, I could easily foresee would not very frequently occur. But here again I am forced to dispense with my resolution, although it be only to tell my reader what measures I am like to take on such occasions for the future. I was told, that the paper called *The Observer* was twice filled last week with remarks upon a late *Examiner*. These I read with the first opportunity ; and, to speak in the news-writers phrase, they give me *occasion for many speculations*. I observed with singular pleasure the nature of those *things*, which the owners of them usually call *Answers*, and with what dexterity this matchless author had fallen into the whole art and cant of them. To transcribe here and there three or four detached lines of least weight in a discourse, and by a foolish comment mistake every syllable of the meaning ; is what I have known many, of a superior class to this formidable adversary, entitle an *Answer*. This is what he hath exactly done in about thrice as many words as my whole discourse ; which is so mighty an advantage over me, that I shall by no means en-

gage in so unequal a combat ; but, as far as I can judge of my own temper, entirely dismiss him for the future ; heartily wishing he had a match exactly of his own size to meddle with, who should only have the odds of truth and honesty, which, as I take it, would be an effectual way to silence him for ever. Upon this occasion I cannot forbear a short story of a *fanatic farmer*, who lived in my neighbourhood, and was so great a disputant in religion, that the servants in all the families thereabouts reported, how he had confuted the bishop and all his clergy. I had then a footman, who was fond of reading the Bible : and I borrowed a comment for him, which he studied so close, that in a month or two I thought him a match for the *farmer*. They disputed at several houses, with a ring of servants and other people always about them ; where *Ned* explained his texts so full and clear to the capacity of his audience, and shewed the insignificancy of his adversary's cant to the meanest understanding, that he got the whole country on his side, and the farmer was cured of his itch of disputation ever after.

The worst of it is, that this sort of outrageous party-writers I have spoken of above, are like a couple of make-bates, who inflame small quarrels by a thousand stories, and by keeping friends at a distance hinder them from coming to a good understanding ; as they certainly would, if they were suffered to meet and debate between themselves : for let any one examine a reasonable honest man of either side upon those opinions in religion and government,

ment, which both parties daily buffet each other about : he shall hardly find one material point in difference between them. I would be glad to ask a question about *two great men* of the late ministry, How they came to be *Whigs*? And, by what figure of speech half a dozen others, lately put into great employments, can be called *Tories*? I doubt, whoever would suit the definition to the persons, must make it directly contrary to what we understood it at the time of the Revolution.

In order to remove these misapprehensions among us, I believe, it will be necessary, upon occasion, to detect the malice and falshood of some popular maxims, which those idiots scatter from the press twice a week, and draw an hundred absurd consequences from them.

For example ; I have heard it often objected as a great piece of insolence in the clergy and others to say or hint, that the *church was in danger*, when it was voted otherwise in parliament some years ago ; and the queen herself, in her last speech, did openly condemn all such insinuations. Notwithstanding which, I did then, and do still, believe the church hath, since that vote, been in very imminent danger ; and I think I might then have said so without the least offence to her majesty, or either of the two houses. The queen's words, as near as I can remember, mentioned the church being in danger from her *administration* ; and whoever says or thinks that, deserves, in my opinion, to be hanged for a traitor : but that the church and state may

be both in danger under the best princes that ever reigned, and without the least guilt of theirs, is such a truth, as a man must be great stranger to history and common sense to doubt. The wisest prince on earth may be forced by the necessity of his affairs and the present power of an unruly faction, or deceived by the craft of ill-designing men. One or two ministers, most in his confidence, may *at first* have good intentions, but grow corrupted by time, by avarice, by love, by ambition, and have fairer terms offered them to gratify their passions or interests from *one sett of men* than another, until they are too far involved for a retreat; and so be forced to take *seven spirits more wicked than themselves*. This is a very possible case; and will not *the last state of such men be worse than the first?* that is to say, will not the public, which was safe at first, grow in danger by such proceedings as these? And shall a faithful subject, who foresees and trembles at the consequences, be called *disaffected*, because he delivers his opinion, although the prince declares, as he justly may, that the danger is not owing to his administration? Or shall the prince himself be blamed, when, in such a juncture, he puts his affairs into other hands *with the universal applause of his people?* As to the vote against those who should affirm the church was in danger, I think it likewise referred to danger from, or under, the queen's administration (for I neither have it by me, nor can suddenly have recourse to it); but if it were otherwise, I know not how it can refer to any dangers,

gers, but what were past, or at that time present; or how it could affect the future, unless the senators were all *inspired*, or at least that majority which voted it: neither do I see it any crime, farther than ill manners, to differ in opinion from a majority of either or both houses; and that ill manners, I must confess, I have been often guilty of for some years past, although I hope never shall again.

Another topic of great use to these weekly inflammers is the young *pretender* in *France*, to whom their whole party is in a high measure indebted for all their greatness; and whenever it lies in their power, they may perhaps return their acknowledgments, as, out of their zeal for frequent *revolutions*, they were ready to do to his supposed father; which is a piece of *secret history*, that I hope will one day see the light: and I am sure it shall, if ever I am master of it, without regarding *whose ears may tingle*. But at present the word *pretender* is a term of art in *their* profession. A secretary of state cannot *desire leave to resign*, but the *pretender* is at bottom; the queen cannot dissolve a parliament, but it is a plot to dethrone herself and bring in the *pretender*; half a score stock-jobbers are playing the knave in *Exchange-alley*, and there goes the *pretender* with a *sponge*. One would be apt to think, they ball out the *pretender* so often to take off the terror; or tell so many lyes about him to slacken our caution; that when he is really coming *by their connivance*, we may not believe them; as the boy served the shepherds about the *coming of the wolf*:

or perhaps they scare us with the *pretender*, because they think we may be like some diseases, that *come with a fright*. Do they not believe, that the queen's present ministry love her majesty, at least as well as *some others* loved the *church*? And why is it not as great a mark of *disaffection* now, to say the *queen is in danger*, as it was some months ago to affirm the same of the *church*? Suppose it be a false opinion, that the queen's right is *hereditary* and *indefeasible*; yet how is it possible, that those who hold and believe such a doctrine, can be in the *pretender's* interest? His title is weakened by every argument that strengthens hers: it is as plain, as the words of an act of parliament can make it, That her present majesty is heir to the survivor of the late king and queen her sister: is not that an *hereditary right*? What need we explain it any farther? I have known an *article of faith* expounded in much looser and more general terms, and that by an author whose opinions are very much followed by a certain party. Suppose we go further, and examine the word *indefeasible*, with which some writers of late have made themselves so merry: I confess, it is hard to conceive how any law, which the supreme power makes, may not, by the same power, be repealed; so that I shall not determine whether the queen's right be *indefeasible* or no. But this I will maintain; that whoever affirms it so, is not guilty of a crime; for in that settlement of the crown after the Revolution, where her present majesty is named in remainder, there are (as near as I can remember)

these

these remarkable words, *to which we bind ourselves and our posterity for ever*. Lawyers may explain this, or call them words of form as they please; and reasoners may argue, that such an obligation is against the very nature of government; but a plain reader, who takes the words in their natural meaning, may be excused in thinking a right so confirmed is *indefeasible*; and if there be an absurdity in such an opinion, he is not to answer for it.

P. S. When this paper was going to the press, the printer brought me two more *Observers*, wholly taken up in my *Examiner* upon lying, which I was at the pains to read; and they are just such an answer, as the two others I have mentioned. This is all I have to say on that matter.

NUMBER XVI.

THURSDAY, November 23, 1710.

Qui sunt boni cives; qui belli, qui domi de patriâ bene merentes; nisi qui patriæ beneficia meminerunt?

I WILL employ this present paper upon a subject, which of late hath very much affected me, which I have considered with a good deal of application, and made several enquiries about among those persons, who, I thought, were best able to inform me; and if I deliver my sentiments with some freedom, I hope it will be forgiven, while I accompany it with that tenderness, which so nice a point requires.

I said in a former paper (*Number 13.*) that one specious objection to the late removals at court was the fear of giving uneasiness to a general, who hath been long successful abroad; and accordingly, the common clamour of tongues and pens for some months past hath run against the baseness, the inconstancy, and ingratitude of the whole kingdom to the duke of *Marlborough*, in return of the most eminent services that ever were performed by a subject to his country; not to be equalled in history: and then, to be sure, some bitter stroke of detraction against *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, who never did us the least injury. Besides, the people, who
read

read *Plutarch*, come upon us with parallels drawn from the *Greeks* and *Romans*, who ungratefully dealt with I know not how many of their most deserving generals, while profounder politicians have seen pamphlets, where *Tacitus* and *Machiavel* have been quoted to shew the danger of too resplendent a merit. If a stranger should hear these furious outcries of ingratitude against our general, without knowing the particulars, he would be apt to enquire, where was his tomb, or whether he were allowed christian burial? not doubting but we had put him to some ignominious death. Or, hath he been tried for his life, and very narrowly escaped? hath he been accused of high crimes and misdemeanors? hath the prince seized on his estate, and left him to starve? hath he been hooted at, as he passed the streets, by an ungrateful rabble? have neither honours, offices, nor grants, been conferred on him or his family? have not he and they been barbarously stript of them all? have not he and his forces been ill paid abroad? and doth not the prince, by a scanty limited commission, hinder him from pursuing his own methods in the conduct of the war? hath he no power at all of disposing of commissions as he pleaseth? is he not severely used by the ministry or parliament, who yearly call him to a strict account? hath the senate ever thanked him for good success, and have they not always publicly censured him for the least miscarriage? — Will the accusers of the nation join issue upon any of these particulars, or tell us in what point our damnable sin of ingratitude lies?

— Why, it is plain and clear: for while he is commanding abroad, the queen dissolves her parliament, and changes her ministry at home; in which *universal calamity* no less than *two persons*, allied by marriage to the general, have lost their places. Whence came this wonderful sympathy between the civil and military powers? Will the troops in *Flanders* refuse to fight, unless they can have *their own* lord keeper, *their own* lord president of the council, *their own* chief governor of *Ireland*, and *their own* parliament? In a kingdom where the people are free, how came they to be so fond of having their counsels under the influence of their army, or those that lead it; who, in all well-constituted states, had no commerce with the civil power, farther than to receive their orders, and obey them without reserve?

When a general is not so popular, either in his army or at home, as one might expect from a long course of success; it may perhaps be ascribed to his *wisdom*, or perhaps to his complexion. The possession of some one *quality*, or a defect in *some other*, will extremely damp the people's favour, as well as the love of the soldiers. Besides, this is not an age to produce favourites of the people, while we live under a queen, who engrosseth all our love, and all our veneration; and where the only way for a great general or minister to acquire any degree of subordinate affection from the public must be by all marks of the most *entire submission and respect* to her sacred person and commands; otherwise no pretence
of

of great services, either in the field or in the cabinet, will be able to skreen them from universal hatred.

But the late ministry was closely joined to the general by friendship, interest, alliance, inclination, and opinion; which cannot be affirmed of the present: and the ingratitude of the nation lieth in the people's *joining as one man* to wish, that such a ministry should be changed. Is it not at the same time notorious to the whole kingdom, that nothing but a tender regard to the general was able to preserve that ministry so long, until neither God nor man could suffer their continuance? Yet in the highest ferment of things we heard few or no reflexions upon this great commander; but all seemed unanimous in wishing he might still be at the head of the confederate forces; only at the same time, in case he were resolved to resign, they chose rather to turn their thoughts somewhere else than throw up all in despair. And this I cannot but add, in defence of the people, with regard to the person we are speaking of, that, in the high station he hath been for many years past, his *real defects* (as nothing human is without them) have in a detracting age been very sparingly mentioned either in libels or conversation, and all his *successes* very freely and universally applauded.

There is an active and a passive ingratitude: applying both to this occasion, we may say, the first is, when a prince or people returns good services with

with cruelty or ill usage ; the other is, when good services are not at all, or very meanly rewarded. We have already spoken of the former ; let us therefore in the second place examine, how the services of our general have been rewarded ; and whether, upon that article, either prince or people have been guilty of ingratitude ?

Those are the most valuable rewards, which are given to us from the certain knowledge of the donor, that they *fit our temper best* : I shall therefore say nothing of the title of *duke*, or the *garter*, which the queen bestowed upon the general in the beginning of her reign ; but I shall come to *more substantial instances*, and mention nothing which hath not been given in the face of the world. The lands of *Woodstock* may, I believe, be reckoned worth 40,000*l.* ; on the building of *Blenheim* castle 200,000*l.* have been already expended, although it be not yet near finished : the grant of 5000*l.* *per annum* on the post-office is richly worth 100,000*l.* ; his principality in *Germany* may be computed at 30,000*l.* ; pictures, jewels, and other gifts from foreign princes, 60,000*l.* ; the grant at the *Pall-mall*, the ranger-ship, &c. for want of more certain knowledge, may be called 10,000*l.* ; his own and his duchess's employments at five years value, reckoning only the known and avowed salaries, are very low rated at 100,000*l.* Here is a good deal above half a million of money ; and, I dare say, those who are loudest with the clamour of ingratitude, will readily

ly own, that all this is but a trifle, in comparison of what is *untold*.

The reason of my stating this account is only to convince the world, that we are not quite so ungrateful either as the *Greeks* or the *Romans*: and in order to adjust this matter with all fairness, I shall confine myself to the latter, who were much the more generous of the two. A victorious general of *Rome*, in the heighth of that empire, having *entirely subdued his enemies*, was rewarded with the larger triumph, and perhaps a statue in the *Forum*, a bull for a sacrifice, an embroidered garment to appear in, a crown of laurel, a monumental trophy with inscriptions, sometimes five hundred or a thousand copper coins were struck on occasion of the victory, which, doing honour to the general, we will place to his account; and lastly, sometimes, although not very frequently, a triumphal arch. These are all the rewards, that I can call to mind, which a victorious general received after his return from the most glorious expedition; having conquered some great kingdom, brought the king himself, his family, and nobles, to adorn the triumph in chains; and made the kingdom either a *Roman* province, or at best a poor depending state in humble alliance to that empire. Now, of all these rewards I find but two, which were of real profit to the general; the *laurel crown*, made and sent him at the charge of the public, and the *embroidered garment*; but I cannot find, whether this last was paid for by the senate or the general: however, we will take the more favourable

vourable opinion; and in all the rest admit the whole expence, as if it were ready money in the general's pocket. Now, according to these computations on both sides, we will draw up two fair accounts; the one of *Roman* gratitude, and the other of *British* ingratitude, and set them together in balance.

A bill

A bill of ROMAN gratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>
For frankincense and earthen pots to burn it in	4 10 0
A bull for sacrifice	8 0 0
An embroidered garment	50 0 0
A crown of laurel	0 0 2
A statue	100 0 0
A trophy	80 0 0
A thousand copper medals, value half-pence a-piece	2 1 8
A triumphal arch	500 0 0
A triumphal car, valued as a modern coach	100 0 0
Casual charges at the triumph	150 0 0
	<hr/>
	994 11 10

A bill of BRITISH ingratitude.

<i>Imprim.</i>	<i>l.</i>
Woodstock	40,000
Blenheim	200,000
Post-office grant	100,000
Mildenheim	30,000
Pictures, jewels, etc.	60,000
Pall-mall grant, etc.	10,000
Employments	100,000
	<hr/>
	540,000

This is an account of the visible profits on both sides ; and if the *Roman* general had any *private perquisites*, they may be easily discounted, and by more probable computations ; and differ yet more upon the balance, if we consider, that all the gold and silver for *safeguards* and *contributions*, also all *valuable prizes* taken in the war, were openly exposed in the triumph, and then lodged in the capitol for the public service.

So that, upon the whole, we are not yet quite so bad at *worst*, as the *Romans* were at *best*. And I doubt those, who raise this hideous cry of ingratitude, may be mightily mistaken in the consequence they propose from such complaints. I remember a saying of *Seneca*, *Multos ingratos invenimus, plures facimus* ; we find many ingrateful persons in the world, but we make more by setting too high a rate upon our pretensions, and undervaluing the rewards we receive. When unreasonable bills are brought in, they ought to be taxed, or cut off in the middle. Where there have been long accounts between two persons, I have known one of them perpetually making large demands, and pressing for payments ; who, when the accounts were cast up on both sides, was found to be debtor for some hundreds. I am thinking, if a proclamation were issued out for every man to send in his *bill of merits*, and the lowest price he set them at, what a pretty sum it would amount to, and how many such islands as this must be sold to pay them. I form my judgment from the practice of those, who

sometimes happen to *pay themselves*, and, I dare affirm, would not be so unjust to take a farthing more than they think is due to their deserts. I will instance only in one article: a lady [*b*] of my acquaintance appropriated twenty-six pounds a year out of her allowance for certain uses, which her woman received [*c*], and was to pay the lady or her order, as it was called for. But after eight years, it appeared, upon the strictest calculation, that the woman had paid but four pounds a year, and sunk two-and-twenty for her own pocket. It is but supposing, instead of twenty-six pounds, twenty-six thousand; and by that you may judge, what the pretensions of *modern merit* are, where it happens to be its own paymaster.

[*b*] Supposed to be her late majesty queen *Anne*.

[*c*] The matter was this: At the QUEEN's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that, the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy purse 2000*l.* a year, in order to purchase for my advantage. --- As her MAJESTY was so good to provide for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted --- I constantly declined it till the time --- she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed --- I sent the queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000*l.* a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her majesty, whether she would allow to charge in the privy purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum *from the time of the offer*, amounting to 18,000*l.* Her majesty was pleased to answer, I might charge it. This therefore I did. *Account of the conduct of the dowager duchess of Marlborough*, p. 294, 295.

NUMBER XVII.

THURSDAY, November 30, 1710.

Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis efficere potuisset; eas omnes sese, hoc uno praetore, per triennium pertulisse aiebant.

WHEN I first undertook this paper, I was resolved to concern myself only with *things*, and not with *persons*. Whether I have kept or broken this resolution, I cannot recollect; and I will not be at the pains to examine, but leave the matter to those little antagonists who may want a topic for criticism. Thus much I have discovered, that it is in writing as in building; where, after all our schemes and calculations, we are mightily deceived in our accounts, and often forced to make use of any materials we can find, that the work may be kept a going. Besides, to speak my opinion, the *things* I have occasion to mention are so closely linked to *persons*, that nothing but *time* (the father of *oblivion*) can separate them. Let me put a parallel case: suppose I should complain, that last week my coach was within an inch of overturning in a smooth even way, and drawn by very gentle horses: to be sure, all my friends would immediately lay the fault upon *John*, because they knew he then
presided

presided in my coach-box. Again: suppose I should discover some uneasiness to find myself, I knew not how, over head and ears in debt, although I were sure my tenants paid their rents very well, and that I never spent half my income; they would certainly advise me to turn off Mr. *Oldfox* [d] my receiver, and take another. If, as a justice of peace, I should tell a friend, that my warrants and *mittimus's* were never drawn up as I would have them; that I had the misfortune to send an honest man to gaol and dismiss a knave; he would bid me no longer trust *Charles* and *Harry* [e], my two clerks, whom he knew to be ignorant, wilful, assuming, and ill-inclined fellows. If I should add, that my tenants made me very uneasy with their squabbles and broils among themselves; he would counsel me to cashier *Will Bigamy* [f], the *seneschal* of my manor. And lastly, if my neighbour and I happened to have a misunderstanding about the *delivery of a message*, what could I do less than strip and discard the *blundering* or *malicious* rascal who carried it?

It is the same thing in the conduct of public affairs, where they have been managed with rashness or wilfulness, corruption, ignorance, or injustice. Barely to relate the facts, at least while they are fresh in memory, will as much reflect upon the per-

[d] L. *Godolphin*.

[e] E. *Sunderland*, and *Henry Boyle*, Esq; were at this time secretaries of state,

[f] L. C ——— r C ——— r.

sons concerned, as if we had told their names at length.

I have therefore since thought of another expedient, frequently practised with great safety and success by satirical writers; which is that of looking into history for some character bearing a resemblance to the person we would describe: and with the absolute power of altering, adding, or suppressing what circumstances we please, I conceive, we must have here very bad luck, or very little skill, to fail. However, some days ago, in a coffee-house, looking into one of the politic weekly papers, I found the writer had fallen into this scheme; and I happened to light on that part, where he was describing a person who, from small beginnings, grew (as I remember) to be constable of *France*, and had a very *haughty imperious wife*. I took the author for a friend to our *façtion* (for so, with great propriety of speech, they call the queen and ministry, almost the whole clergy, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom); and I said to a gentleman near me, that although I knew well enough what persons the author meant, yet there were several particulars in the *husband's* character which I could not reconcile; for that of the *lady*, it was just and adequate enough. But, it seems, I mistook the whole matter; and applied all I had read to a couple of persons, who were not at that time in the writer's thoughts.

Now,

Now, to avoid such misfortune as this, I have been for some time consulting *Livy* and *Tacitus* to find out the character of a *princeps senatus*, a *prætor urbanus*, a *quæstor ærarius*, a *Cæsari ab epistolis*, and a *proconsul*: but among the worst of them I could not discover one, from whom to draw a parallel without doing injury to a *roman* memory: so that I am compelled to have recourse to *Tully*. But this author relating facts only as an orator, I thought it would be best to observe his method, and make an extract from six harangues of his against *Verres*, only still preserving the form of an oration. I remember a younger brother of mine, who deceased about two months ago, presented the world with a speech of *Alcibiades* against an *Athenian* brewer. Now I am told for certain, that in those days there was no ale in *Athens*; therefore that speech, or at least a great part of it, must needs be spurious. The difference between my brother and me is this; he makes *Alcibiades* say a great deal more than he really did, and I make *Cicero* say a great deal less. This *Verres* [g] had been the *Roman* governor of *Sicily* for three years; and, on his return from his government, the *Sicilians* entreated *Cicero* to impeach him in the senate; which he accordingly did in several orations, from whence I have faithfully translated and abstracted that which follows:

[g] Earl of *Wharton*, lord lieutenant of *Ireland*.

“ MY LORDS,

“ A pernicious opinion hath for some time prevailed, not only in *Rome*, but among our neighbouring nations, that a man who hath money enough, although he be ever so guilty, cannot be condemned in this place. But, however industriously this opinion be spread, to cast an odium on the senate, we have brought before your lordships *Caius Verres*; a person for his life and actions already condemned by all men; but, as he hopes and gives out, by the influence of his wealth to be here absolved. In condemning this man, you have an opportunity of belying that general scandal, of redeeming the credit lost by former judgments, and recovering the love of the *Roman* people, as well as of our neighbours. I have brought here a man before you, my lords, who is a robber of the public treasure, an overturner of law and justice, and the disgrace as well as the destruction of the *Sicilian* province; of whom, if you shall determine with equity and due severity, your authority will remain entire, and upon such an establishment as it ought to be: But if his great riches will be able to force their way through that religious reverence and truth, which become so awful an assembly, I shall however obtain thus much, that the defect will be laid where it ought; and that it shall not

“ be

“ be objected, that the criminal was not pro-
 “ duced, or that there wanted an orator to ac-
 “ cuse him. This man, my lords, hath pub-
 “ licly said, that those ought to be afraid of
 “ accusations, who have only robbed enough for
 “ their own support and maintenance: but that
 “ he hath plundered sufficient to bribe numbers;
 “ and that nothing is so high or so holy, which
 “ money cannot corrupt. Take that support
 “ from him, and he can have no other left: for
 “ what eloquence will be able to defend a man,
 “ whose life hath been tainted with so many
 “ scandalous vices, and who hath been so long
 “ condemned by the universal opinion of the
 “ world? To pass over the foul stains and igno-
 “ miny of his youth, his corrupt management
 “ in all employments he hath borne, his treach-
 “ ery and irreligion, his injustice and oppression;
 “ he hath left of late such monuments of his
 “ villanies in *Sicily*, made such havoc and confu-
 “ sion there during his government, that the
 “ province cannot by any means be restored to
 “ its former state, and hardly recover itself at all,
 “ under many years, and by a long succession
 “ of good governors. While this man governed
 “ in that island, the *Sicilians* had neither the be-
 “ nefit of our laws nor their own, nor even of
 “ common right. In *Sicily* no man now possesses
 “ more, than what the governor’s lust and avarice
 “ have overlooked, or what he was forced to
 “ neglect out of mere weariness and satiety of

“ oppression. Every thing, where he presided,
 “ was determined by his arbitrary will ; and the
 “ best subjects he treated as enemies. To recount
 “ his abominable debaucheries would offend any
 “ modest ear, since so many could not preserve
 “ their daughters and wives from his lust. I be-
 “ lieve there is no man, who ever heard his
 “ name, that cannot relate his enormities. We
 “ bring before you in judgment, my lords, a pub-
 “ lic robber, an adulterer, a DEFILER OF AL-
 “ TARS [b], an enemy of religion, and all that
 “ is sacred. In *Sicily* he sold all employments of
 “ judicature, magistracy, and trust, places in the
 “ council, and the *priesthood* itself, to the high-
 “ est bidder ; and has plundered that island of
 “ forty millions of sesterces. And here I cannot
 “ but observe to your lordships, in what manner
 “ *Verres* passed the day : the morning was spent in
 “ taking bribes and selling employments ; the rest
 “ of it in drunkenness and lust. His discourse at
 “ table was scandalously unbecoming the dignity
 “ of his station ; noise, brutality, and obscenc-
 “ ness. One particular I cannot omit ; that, in
 “ the high character of governor of *Sicily*, upon
 “ a solemn day, a day set apart for public prayer
 “ for the safety of the commonwealth, he stole at

[b] The story of the lord *Wharton* is true ; who, with some other wretches, went into a pulpit, and defiled it in the most filthy manner.

“ evening

“ evening in a chair to a married woman of
 “ infamous character, against all decency and
 “ prudence, as well as against all laws both hu-
 “ man and divine. Didst thou think, O *Verres*!
 “ the government of *Sicily* was given thee with so
 “ large a commission, only, by the power of
 “ that, to break all the bars of law, modesty,
 “ and duty; to suppose all men’s fortunes thine,
 “ and leave no house free from thy rapine and
 “ lust?” *etc.*

This extract, to deal ingenuously, hath cost me
 more pains than, I think, it is worth; having
 only served to convince me, that modern corrupti-
 ons are not to be paralleled by antient examples,
 without having recourse to poetry or fable. For
 instance: I never read a story of a law enacted to
 take away the force of all laws whatsoever; by
 which a man may safely commit, upon the last of
June, what he would infallibly be hanged for, if
 he committed it on the first of *July*; by which the
 greatest criminals may escape, provided they con-
 tinue long enough in power to antiquate their
 crimes, and by stifling them a while can deceive
 the legislature into an *amnesty*, of which the enact-
 ors do not at that time foresee the consequence.
 A cautious merchant will be apt to suspect, when
 he finds a man who has the repute of a cunning
 dealer, and with whom he hath old accounts, urg-
 ing for a general release. When I reflect on
 this

this proceeding, I am not surpris'd that those, who contriv'd a parliamentary *sponge* for their *crimes*, are now afraid of a new revolution *sponge* for their *money*: that if it were possible to contrive a *sponge*, that could only affect those who had need of the other, perhaps it would not be ill employed.

NUM-

NUMBER XVIII.

THURSDAY, December 9, 1710.

Quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas ; tot bella per orbem ; Tam multæ scelerum facies ?

I AM often violently tempted to let the world freely know, who the author of this paper is ; to tell them my name and titles at length ; which would prevent abundance of inconsistent criticism I daily hear upon it. Those who are enemies to the notions and opinions I would advance, are sometimes apt to quarrel with the *Examiner* as defective in point of wit, and sometimes of truth. At other times, they are so generous and candid to allow, it is written by a club, and that very great *hands* have *fingers* in it. As for those who only appear its adversaries in print, they give me but very little pain. The paper I hold lies at my mercy, and I can govern it as I please : therefore, when I begin to find the wit too bright, the learning too deep, and the satyr too keen for me to deal with (a very frequent case, no doubt, where a man is frequently attacked by such shrewd adversaries), I peaceably fold it up, or fling it aside, and read no more. It would be happy for me to have the same power over people's tongues, and not be forced to hear my
own

own work railed at, and commended, fifty times a day; affecting all the while a countenance wholly unconcerned, and joining, out of policy or good manners, with the judgment of both parties: this, I confess, is too great a hardship for so bashful and unexperienced a writer.

But, alas! I lie under another discouragement of much more weight. I was very unfortunate in the choice of my party, when I set up to be a writer. Where is the merit, or what opportunity to discover our wit, our courage, or our learning, in drawing our pens for the defence of a cause, which the QUEEN and both houses of parliament, and nine parts in ten of the kingdom, have so unanimously embraced? I am cruelly afraid, we politic authors must begin to lessen our expences, and lie for the future at the mercy of our printers. All hopes are now gone of writing ourselves into places and pensions. A certain starveling author, who *worked* under the late administration, told me, with a heavy heart, about a month ago, that he, and some others of his brethren, had secretly offered their service, dog-cheap, to the present ministry, but were all refused; and are now maintained by contribution, like *jacobites* or *fanatics*. I have been of late employed, out of perfect commiseration, in doing them good offices: for whereas some were of opinion, that these hungry zealots should not be suffered any longer in their malapert way to snarl at the present course of public proceedings; and
whereas

whereas others proposed, that they should be limited to a certain number, and permitted to write for their *masters*, in the same manner as counsel are assigned for other criminals; that is, to say all they can in defence of their client, but not reflect upon the court: I humbly gave my advice, that they should be suffered to write on, as they used to do; which I did purely out of regard to their persons; for I hoped it would keep them out of harms-way, and prevent them from falling into evil courses; which, though of little consequence to the public, would certainly be *fatal to themselves*. If I have room at the bottom of this paper, I will transcribe a petition to the present ministry, sent me by one of these authors, in behalf of himself and fourscore others of his brethren.

For my own part, notwithstanding the little encouragement to be hoped for at this time from the men in power, I shall continue my paper, till either the world or myself grow weary of it: the latter is easily determined; and for the former, I shall not leave it to the partiality of any party, but to the infallible judgment of my printer. One principal end I designed by it, was to undeceive those well-meaning people, who have been drawn unawares into a wrong sense of things, either by the common prejudices of education and company, the great personal qualities of some party leaders, or the foul misrepresentations that were constantly made of all, who durst differ from them in the
smallest

smallest article. I have known such men struck with the thoughts of some late changes, which, as they pretend to think, were made without any reason visible to the world. In answer to this, it is not sufficient to allege, what no body doubts, that a good and wise prince may be allowed to change his ministers without giving a reason to his subjects; because it is certain, that he will not make such a change without very important reasons; and a good subject ought to suppose, that in such a case there are such reasons, although he be not apprised of them; otherwise he must inwardly tax his prince of capriciousness, inconstancy, or ill design. Such reasons indeed may not be obvious to persons prejudiced, or at a great distance, or short thinkers; and therefore if they be no secrets of state, nor any ill consequences to be apprehended from their publication, it is no uncommendable work in any private hand to lay them open for the satisfaction of all men. And if what I have already said, or shall hereafter say, of this kind, be thought to reflect upon *persons*, although none have been named, I know not how it can possibly be avoided. The queen in her speech mentions, *with great concern*, that “the navy
 “and other offices are burthened with heavy
 “debts; and desires that the like may be pre-
 “vented for the time to come.” And, if it be *now* possible to prevent the continuance of an evil, that hath been so long growing upon us, and is arrived to such an height; surely those corruptions

ons and mismanagements must have been great, which first introduced them, before our taxes were eaten up by annuities.

If I were able to rip up and discover, in all their colours, only about eight or nine thousand of the most scandalous abuses, that have been committed in all parts of public management for twenty years past by a certain sett of men and their instruments, I should reckon it some service to my country and posterity. But, to say the truth, I should be glad the authors names were conveyed to future times along with their actions. For although the present age may understand well enough the little hints we give, the parallels we draw, and the characters we describe; yet all this will be lost to the next. However, if these papers, *reduced into a more durable form*, should happen to live till our grand-children are men, I hope they may have curiosity enough to consult annals and compare dates in order to find out, what names were then intrusted with the conduct of affairs, in the consequences whereof themselves will so deeply share; like a heavy debt in a private family, which often lies an incumbrance upon an estate for three generations.

But, leaving the care of informing posterity to better pens, I shall, with due regard to truth, discretion, and the safety of my person from the men of *the new-fangled moderation*, continue to take all proper opportunities of letting the misled part of the people see, how grossly they have been abused, and in

what particulars. I shall also endeavour to convince them, that the present course we are in is the most probable means, with the blessing of God, to extricate ourselves out of all our difficulties.

Among those, who are pleased to write or talk against this paper, I have observed a strange manner of reasoning, which I should be glad to hear them explain themselves upon. They make no ceremony of exclaiming upon all occasions against a change of ministry in so critical and dangerous a conjuncture. What shall we, who heartily approve and join in those proceedings, say in defence of them? We own the juncture of affairs to be as they describe: we are pushed for an answer; and are forced at last freely to confess, that the corruptions and abuses in every branch of the administration were so numerous and intolerable, that all things must have ended in ruin without some speedy reformation. This I have already asserted in a former paper; and the replies I have read, or heard, have been in plain terms to affirm the direct contrary; and not only to defend and celebrate the late persons and proceedings, but to threaten me with law and vengeance for casting reflexions on so many great and honourable men, whose *birth, virtue, and abilities, whose morals and religion, whose love of their country, and its constitution in church and state*, were so universally allowed; and all this set off with odious comparisons, reflecting on the present choice: is not this in plain and direct terms to tell all the world, that the queen hath in a most dangerous

gerous crisis turned out a whole set of the best ministers, that ever served a prince, without any manner of reason, but her royal pleasure, and brought in others of a character directly contrary? And how so vile an opinion as this can consist with the least pretence to loyalty or good manners, let the world determine.

I confess myself so little a refiner in politics, as not to be able to discover what other motive, besides obedience to the QUEEN, a sense of public danger, and a true love of their country, joined with invincible courage, could spirit up those great men, who have now under her majesty's authority undertaken the direction of affairs. What can they expect, but the utmost efforts of malice, from a set of enraged domestic adversaries perpetually watching over their conduct, crossing all their designs, and using every art to foment divisions among them, in order to join with the weakest, upon any rupture. The difficulties they must encounter are nine times more and greater than ever; and the prospects of interest, after the *reapings* and *gleanings* of so many years, nine times less. Every misfortune at home or abroad, although the necessary consequence of former counsels, will be imputed to them; and all the good success given to the merit of former schemes. A sharper hath held your cards all the evening, played booty, and lost your money; and, when things are almost desperate, you employ an honest gentleman to retrieve your losses.

I would ask, whether the QUEEN's speech doth not contain her intentions in every particular relating to the public, that a good subject, a *Britain*, and a *Protestant*, can possibly have at heart? "To
 " carry on the war in all its parts, particularly in
 " *Spain*, with the utmost vigour, in order to procure a safe and honourable peace for us and our
 " allies; to find some ways of paying the debts of
 " the navy; to support and encourage the church
 " of *England*; to preserve the *British* constitution
 " according to the Union; to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences;
 " and to employ none but such, as are for the Protestant succession in the house of *Hanover*." It is known enough, that speeches on these occasions are ever digested with the advice of those, who are in the chief confidence; and consequently, that these are the sentiments of her majesty's ministers, as well as her own; and we see, the two houses have unanimously agreed with her in every article. When the least counter-paces are made to any of these resolutions, it will then be time enough for our male-contents to bawl out *popery*, *persecution*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. In the mean while, it is a little hard to think, that this island can hold but six men of honesty and ability enough to serve their prince and country; or that our safety should depend upon their credit, any more than it would upon the breath in their nostrils. Why should not a *revolution* in the ministry be sometimes necessary, as well as a *revolution* in the crown?

It

It is to be presumed, the former is at least as lawful in itself, and perhaps the experiment not quite so dangerous. The *revolution* of the *sun* about the *earth* was formerly thought a necessary expedient to solve appearances, although it left many difficulties unanswered ; until philosophers contrived a better, which is that of the *earth's revolution* about the *sun*. This is found upon experience to save much time and labour, to correct many irregular motions, and is better suited to the respect due from a *planet* to a *fixed star*.

NUMBER XIX.

THURSDAY, December 14, 1710.

*Sunt quibus in satyra videar nimis acer, et ultra
Legem tendere opus: sine nervis altera, quicquid
Composui, pars esse putat.*

WHEN the Printer came last week for his copy, he brought along with him a bundle of those papers, which, in the phrase of *Whig-coffee-houses*, have *swinged off the Examiner*; most of which I had never seen or heard of before. I remember some time ago in one of the *Tatlers* to have read a letter, wherein several reasons are assigned for the present corruption and degeneracy of our taste; but, I think, the writer hath omitted the principal one, which I take to be the prejudice of parties. Neither can I excuse either side of this infirmity. I have heard the arrantest drivellers *pro* and *con* commended for their shrewdness, even by men of tolerable judgment; and the best performances exploded as nonsense and stupidity. This indeed may partly be imputed to policy and prudence; but it is chiefly owing to that blindness, which prejudice and passion cast over the understanding. I mention this, because I think it properly within my province in quality of *Examiner*. And, having granted more than is usual for an enemy

my

my to do, I must now take leave to say, that so weak a *cause*, and so ruined a *faction*, were never provided with pens more resembling their condition, or less suited to their occasions.

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

This is the more to be wondered at, when we consider, they have the full liberty of the Press; that they have no other way left to recover themselves; and that they want not men of excellent parts to set their arguments in the best light they will bear. Now, if two men would argue on both sides with fairness, good sense, and good manners, it would be no ill entertainment to the town, and perhaps be the most effectual means to reconcile us. But I am apt to think that men of great genius are hardly brought to prostitute their pens in a very odious *cause*; which, besides, is more properly undertaken by noise and impudence, by gross railing and scurrility, by calumny and lying, and by little trifling cavils and carpings in the wrong place, which those *whiffers* use for arguments and answers.

I was well enough pleased with a story of one of these answerers, who, in a paper of last week, found many faults with a late calculation of mine. Being, it seems, more deeply learned than his fellows, he was resolved to begin his answer with a *latin* verse, as well as other folks. His business was

to look out for something against the *Examiner*, that would pretend to *tax* accounts; and turning over *Virgil* he had the luck to find these words;

fugiant examina taxes :

So down they went, and out they would have come, if one of his unlucky prompters had not hindered it.

I here declare, once for all, that, if these people will not be quiet, I shall take the bread out of their mouths, and answer the *Examiner* myself; which, I protest, I have never yet done, although I have been often charged with it; neither have those answers been written or published with my privity, as malicious people are pleased to give out; nor do I believe the common *whiggish* report, that the authors are hired by the ministry to give my paper a value.

But the friends of this paper have given me more uneasiness with their impatience, than its enemies by their answers. I heard myself censured last week, by some of the former, for promising to discover the corruptions of the late administration, but never performing any thing. The latter, on the other side, are thundering out their *anathemas* against me for discovering so many. I am at a loss how to decide between these contraries, and shall therefore proceed after my own way, as I have hitherto done; my design being of more importance, than that of writing only to gratify the spleen of
one

one side, or provoke that of the other, although it may occasionally have both effects.

I shall therefore go on to relate some facts, that, in my humble opinion, were no hindrance to the change of the ministry.

The first I shall mention, was that of introducing certain new phrases into the court style, which had been very seldom, or never, made use of in former times. They usually ran in the following terms ; “ Madam, I cannot serve you while such-a-one is in employment. I desire, humbly, to resign my commission, if Mr. — continues secretary of state. I cannot answer that the city will lend money, unless my l---d — be president of the council. I must beg leave to surrender, except — has the staff. I must not accept the seals, unless — comes into the other office.” This hath been the language of late years from subjects to their prince. Thus they stood upon terms, and must have their own conditions to ruin the nation. Nay, this dutiful manner of capitulating had spread so far, that every under-strapper began at length to perk up and assume ; he *expected a regiment* ; or *his son must be a major* ; or *his brother a collector* ; else he threatened to *vote according to his conscience*.

Another of their glorious attempts was the clause intended in the bill *for the encouragement of learning*, by taking off the obligation upon fellows of colleges in both universities to enter upon holy orders : the design of which, as I have heard the undertakers

dertakers often confess, was to remove the care of educating youth out of the hands of the clergy, who are apt to infuse into their pupils too great a regard for the church and the monarchy. But there was a farther secret in this clause, which may best be discovered by the first projectors, or at least the *garblers* of it; and these are known to be *Collins* and *Tindal*, in conjunction with a most *pious lawyer*, their disciple.

What shall we say to their prodigious skill in *arithmetic*, discovered so constantly in their decision of elections; where they were able to make out, by the *rule of false*, that *three* were more than *three and twenty*, and *fifteen* than *fifty*? Nay, it was a maxim, which I never heard any of them dispute, that, in determining elections, they were not to consider where the right lay, but which of the *candidates* was likelier to be true to the *cause*. This they used to illustrate by a very apt and decent similitude of gaming with a sharper; if you cannot cheat as well as he, you are certainly undone.

Another cast of their politics was that of endeavouring to impeach an innocent *lady* [i], for no reason imaginable, but her faithful and diligent service to the queen, and the favour her majesty bore to her on that account, when others had acted contrary in so shameful a manner. What else was the crime? Had she *treated her royal mistress with insolence or neglect*? Had she *enriched herself by a long practice of bribery, and obtaining exorbitant grants*?

[i] The lady *Masham*.

Had she *engrossed* her majesty's favours, without admitting any access but through her means? Had she *heaped employments upon herself, her family, and dependents*? Had she an *imperious haughty behaviour*? Or, after all, was it a perfect blunder and mistake of *one person for another*? I have heard of a man who lay all night on a rough pavement, and in the morning, wondering what it could possibly be that made him rest so ill, happened to see a feather under him, and imputed the uneasiness of his lodging to that. I remember likewise the story of a giant in *Rabelais*, who used to feed upon *wind-mills*; but was unfortunately choaked with a small lump of *fresh butter* before a warm oven.

And here I cannot but observe, how very refined some people are in their generosity and gratitude. There is a certain great person (I shall not say of what sex) who, for many years past, was the constant mark and butt, against which our present male-contents used to discharge their resentment; upon whom they bestowed all the terms of scurrility, that malice, envy, and indignation could invent, whom they publicly accused of every vice that can possess a human heart; pride, covetousness, ingratitude, oppression, treachery, dissimulation, violence, and fury, all in the highest extremes: but of late they have changed their language on a sudden; that person is now the most faithful and just, that ever served a prince; that person, originally differing from them in principles as far as east from west, but united in practice, and falling together,

ther, they are now reconciled, and find twenty resemblances between each other, which they could never discover before. *Tanti est, ut placeam tibi, perire!*

But to return. How could it be longer suffered, in a free nation, that all avenues to preferment should be shut up, except a very few; when one or two stood constant *centry*, who doctored all favours they handed down, or spread a huge invisible net between the prince and subject, through which nothing of value could pass? And here I cannot but admire at one consequence from this management, which is of an extraordinary nature. Generally speaking, princes, who have ill ministers, are apt to suffer in their reputation, as well as in the love of the people: but it was not so with the queen. When the sun is overcast by those clouds he exhales from the earth, we still acknowledge his light and influence, and at last find he can dispel, and drive them down to the horizon. The wisest prince, by the necessity of affairs, the misrepresentations of designing men, or the innocent mistakes even of a good predecessor, may find himself encompassed by a crew of courtiers, whom time, opportunity, and success, have miserably corrupted: and, if he can save himself and his people from ruin, under the *worst* administration, what may not his subjects hope for, when, with their universal applause, he changeth hands, and maketh use of the *best*?

Another great objection with me against the late party, was the cruel tyranny they put upon *conscience* by a *barbarous inquisition*, refusing to admit the

least *toleration* or *indulgence*. They imposed an hundred *tests*, but could never be prevailed on to *dispense* with, or *take off*, the smallest, or even to admit of *occasional conformity*; but went on daily (as their apostle *Tindal* expresseth it) *narrowing their terms of communion*, pronouncing nine parts in ten of the kingdom *heretics*, and shutting them out of the pale of their church. These very men, who talk so much of a *comprehension in religion* among us, how came they to allow so little of it in *politics*, which is *their sole religion*? You shall hear them pretending to bewail the animosities kept up between the church of *England* and dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable; yet these very sons of *moderation* were pleased to *excommunicate* every man, who disagreed with them in the smallest *article* of their *political creed*, or who refused to receive any new *article*, how difficult soever to digest, which the leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interest.

I will quit this subject for the present, when I have told one story. “ There was a great king in
 “ *Scythia*, whose dominions were bounded on the
 “ North by the poor mountainous territories of a
 “ petty lord, who paid homage, as the king’s vassal.
 “ The *Scythian prime minister*, being largely
 “ *bribed*, indirectly obtained his master’s consent to
 “ suffer this lord to build forts, and provide himself
 “ with arms, under pretence of preventing the in-
 “ roads of the *Tartars*. This little depending sove-
 “ reign, finding he was now in a condition to be
 “ trou-

“troublesome, began to insist upon terms, and
 “threatened, upon every occasion, to unite with
 “the *Tartars* : upon which the *prime minister*, who
 “began to be in pain about his *head*, proposed a
 “*match* betwixt his master and the only daughter
 “of this tributary lord, which he had the good luck
 “to bring to pass; and from that time valued him-
 “self as author of a most glorious *union*, which in-
 “deed was grown of absolute necessity by his cor-
 “ruption.” This passage, cited literally from an
 old history of *Sarmatia*, I thought fit to set down on
 purpose to perplex little smattering remarkers, and
 put them upon the hunt for an application.

NUMBER XX.

THURSDAY, December 21, 1710.

— *pugnacem scirent sapiente minorem.*

I AM very much at a loss how to proceed upon the subject intended in this paper, which a new incident hath led me to engage in. The subject I mean, is that of *soldiers* and the *army*; but being a matter wholly out of my trade, I shall handle it in as cautious a manner as I am able.

It is certain, that the art of war hath suffered great changes almost in every age and country of the world; however, there are some maxims relating to it, that will be eternal truths, and which every reasonable man must allow.

In the early time of *Greece* and *Rome*, the armies of those states were composed of their citizens, who took no pay, because the quarrel was their own: and therefore the war was usually decided in one campaign; or, if it lasted longer, yet, in winter, the soldiers returned to their several callings, and were not distinguished from the rest of the people. The *gothic* governments in *Europe*, although they were of military institution, yet observed almost the same method. I shall instance only here in *England*: those who held lands *in capite* of the king, were obliged to attend him in his wars with a certain number of
men,

men, who all held lands from them at easy rents on that condition. These fought without pay; and, when the service was over, returned again to their farms. It is recorded of *William Rufus*, that, being absent in *Normandy*, and engaged in a war with his brother, he ordered twenty thousand men to be raised, and sent over from hence to supply his army; but having struck up a peace before they were embarked, he gave them leave to disband, upon condition they would pay him ten shillings a man, which amounted to a mighty sum in those days.

Consider a kingdom as a great family, whereof the prince is the father, and it will appear plainly, that mercenary troops are only *servants armed* either to awe the *children* at home, or else to defend, from invaders, the family, who are otherwise employed, and chuse to contribute out of their stock for paying their defenders, rather than leave their affairs to be neglected in their absence. The art of making soldiery a trade, and keeping armies in pay, seems, in *Europe*, to have had two originals: the first was *usurpation*; when popular men destroyed the liberties of their country, and seized the power into their own hands, which they were forced to maintain by hiring guards to bridle the people. Such were antiently the *tyrants* in most of the small states of *Greece*; and such were those in several parts of *Italy* about three or four centuries ago, as *Machiavel* informs us. The other original of mercenary armies seems to have risen from larger kingdoms

doms, or commonwealths, which had subdued provinces at a distance, and were forced to maintain troops upon them to prevent insurrections from the natives. Of this sort were *Macedon*, *Carthage*, and *Rome* of old; *Venice* and *Holland* at this day, as well as most kingdoms in *Europe*. So that mercenary forces in a free state, whether *monarchy* or *commonwealth*, seem only necessary either for preserving their conquests (which, in such governments, it is not prudent to extend too far), or else for maintaining war at a distance.

In this last, which at present is our most important case, there are certain maxims, that all wise governments have observed.

The first I shall mention is, that no *private* man should have a commission to be *general for life*, let his merit and services be ever so great. Or, if a prince be unadvisedly brought to offer such a commission in one hand, let him (to save time and blood) deliver up his *crown* with the other. The *Romans*, in the height and perfection of their government, usually sent out one of the new *consuls* to be general against their most formidable enemy, and recalled the old one; who often returned before the next election, and, according as he had merit, was sent to command in some other part; which perhaps was continued to him for a second, and sometimes a third year. But if *Paulus Aemilius*, or *Scipio* himself, had presumed to move the *senate* to continue their *commission for life*, they would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of the

VOL. VII. F people.

people. *Cæsar* indeed (between whom and a *certain general* some of late, with much discretion, have made a *parallel*) had his command in *Gaul* continued to him for five years ; and was afterwards made perpetual *dictator*, that is to say, *general for life* ; which gave him the power and the will of utterly destroying the *Roman* liberty. But, in his time, the *Romans* were very much degenerated, and great corruptions had crept into their morals and discipline. However, we see there still were some remains of a noble spirit among them ; for when *Cæsar* sent to be chosen *consul*, notwithstanding his absence, they decreed he should come in person, give up his command, and *petere more majorum*.

It is not impossible, but a *general* may desire such a commission out of inadvertency, at the *instigation of his friends*, or perhaps of his *enemies* ; or merely for the *benefit and honour of it*, without intending any such *dreadful consequences* ; and, in that case, a wise prince, or state, may barely refuse it without shewing any marks of their displeasure. But the request in its own nature is highly criminal, and ought to be entered so upon record, to terrify *others* in time to come from venturing to make it.

Another maxim to be observed by a free state engaged in war is, to keep the military power in absolute subjection to the civil, nor ever suffer the former to influence or interfere with the latter. A general and his army are *servants*, hired by the civil power to act, as they are directed from thence, and with a commission large or limited, as the ad-
ministra-

ministration shall think fit ; for which they are largely paid in profit and honour. The whole system, by which armies are governed, is quite *alien* from the peaceful institutions of states at home ; and if the rewards be so inviting as to tempt a *senator* to take a post in the army, whilst he is there on his duty, he ought to consider himself in no other capacity. I know not any sort of men so apt as soldiers are to reprimand those, who presume to interfere in what relates to their trade. When they hear any of us, in a coffee-house, wondering that such a victory was not pursued ; complaining that such a town cost more men and money than it was worth to take it ; or that such an opportunity was lost of fighting the enemy ; they presently reprove us, and, often with justice enough, for meddling in matters out of our sphere ; and clearly convince us of our mistakes by terms of art, that none of us understand. Nor do we escape so ; for they reflect with the utmost contempt on our ignorance ; that we, who sit at home in ease and security, never stirring from our fire-sides, should pretend, from books and general reason, to argue upon military affairs ; which, after all, if we may judge from the share of intellectuals in some who are said to excel that way, is not so very profound, or difficult a science. But, if there be any weight in what they offer, as perhaps there may be a great deal, surely these gentlemen have a much weaker pretence to concern themselves in matters of the cabinet, which are always either far above, or

much beside their capacities. Soldiers may as well pretend to prescribe rules for trade, or determine points in philosophy, to be moderators in an assembly of divines, or direct in a court of justice, as to misplace their talent in examining affairs of state, especially in what relates to the *choice of ministers*, who are never so likely to be ill chosen as when approved by them. It would be endless to shew, how pernicious all steps of this nature have been in many parts and ages of the world. I shall only produce two at present ; one in *Rome*, the other in *England*. The first is of *Cæsar* : when he came to the city with his soldiers to *settle the ministry*, there was an end of their liberty for ever. The second was in the great rebellion against king *Charles* the first : the king and both houses were agreed upon the terms of a peace ; but the officers of the army (as *Ludlow* relates it) set a guard upon the house of commons, took a list of the members, and kept all, by force, out of the house, except those who were for bringing the king to a trial. Some years after, when they erected a military government, and ruled the island by *major generals*, we received most admirable instances of their skill in politicks. To say the truth, such formidable sticklers can have but two reasons for desiring to interfere in the administration ; the first is that of *Cæsar* and *Cromwell*, of which God forbid I should accuse or suspect any body, since the second is pernicious enough, and that is, *to preserve those in power*

power who are for perpetuating a war, rather than see others advanced, who, they are sure, will use all proper means to promote a safe and honourable peace.

Thirdly, since it is observed of armies, that in the present age they are brought to some degree of humanity, and a more regular demeanor to each other and to the world, than in former times, it is certainly a good maxim to endeavour preserving this temper among them ; without which they would soon degenerate into *savages*. To this end it would be prudent, among other things, to forbid that detestable custom of *drinking to the damnation or confusion* of any person whatsoever.

Such desperate acts, and the opinions infused along with them into heads already inflamed by youth and wine, are enough to scatter madness and sedition through a whole camp. So seldom upon *their knees to pray*, and so often to *curse* ! this is not properly atheism, but a sort of *anti-religion* prescribed by the devil, and which an atheist of common sense would scorn as an absurdity. I have heard it mentioned as a common practice last autumn, *some where or other*, to *drink damnation and confusion* (and this with circumstances very aggravating and horrid) to the *new ministry*, and to those who *had any hand* in turning out the *old* ; that is to say, to those persons whom her majesty has thought fit to employ in her greatest affairs, with something more than a glance against the queen herself.

And if it be true, that these *orgies* were attended with certain *doubtful words* of *standing by their general*, who, without question, abhorred them, let any man consider the consequence of such dispositions, if they should happen to spread. I could only wish, for the honour of the army, as well as of the queen and ministry, that a remedy had been applied to the disease in the *place* and *time* where it grew. If men of such principles were able to propagate them in a camp, and were sure of a *general for life*, who had any tincture of ambition, we might soon bid farewell to ministers and parliaments, whether new or old.

I am only sorry, such an accident hath happened towards the close of a war; when it is chiefly the interest of those gentlemen, who have posts in the army, to behave themselves in such a manner, as might encourage the legislature to make some provision for them, when there will be no further need of their service. They are to consider themselves as persons, by their education, unqualified for many other stations of life. Their fortunes will not suffer them to retain to a party after its *fall*, nor have they weight or abilities to help towards its *resurrection*. Their future dependence is wholly upon the prince and parliament, to which they will never make their way by *solemn execrations of the ministry*; a ministry of the queen's own election, and fully answering the wishes of her people. This unhappy step in some of *their brethren* may pass
for

for an uncontrollable argument, that politicks are not their business, or their element. The fortune of war hath raised several persons up to swelling titles, and great commands over numbers of men, which they are too apt to transfer along with them into civil life, and appear in all companies, as if they were at the head of their regiments, with a sort of deportment, that ought to have been dropt behind in that short passage to *Harwich*. It puts me in mind of a dialogue in *Lucian*, where *Charon*, waisting one of their predecessors over *Styx*, ordered him to strip off his armour and fine cloaths, yet still thought him too heavy; “But, *said he*, put off
 “likewise that pride and presumption, those high
 “swelling words, and that vain-glory;” because they were of no use on the other side of the water. Thus, if all that array of military grandeur were confined to the proper scene, it would be much more for the interest of the owners, and less offensive to their fellow-subjects.

NUMBER XXI.

THURSDAY, December 28, 1710.

*Nam et majorum instituta tueri, sacris ceremoniisque
retinendis, sapientis est.*

Ruituraque semper

Stat (mirum!) moles.

WHOEVER is a true lover of our constitution, must needs be pleased to see what successful endeavours are daily made to restore it in every branch to its antient form, from the languishing condition it hath long lain in, and with such deadly symptoms.

I have already handled some abuses during the late management, and shall, in convenient time, go on with the rest. Hitherto I have confined myself to those of the state; but with the good leave of some who think it a matter of small moment, I shall now take liberty to say something of the church.

For several years past, there hath not, I think, in Europe, been any society of men upon so unhappy a foot as the clergy of England; nor more hardly treated by those very persons, from whom they deserved much better quarter, and in whose power they chiefly had put it to use them so ill. I would not willingly misrepresent facts; but I think it generally allowed, by enemies and friends, that the bold and brave defences made before the revolution against those many invasions of our rights proceeded
prin-

principally from the clergy ; who are likewise known to have rejected all advances made to them to close with the measures at that time concerting ; while the *dissenters*, to gratify their ambition and revenge, fell into the basest compliances with the court, approved of all proceedings by their numerous and fulsome addresses, and took employments and commissions, by virtue of the dispensing power, against the direct laws of the land. All this is so true, that if ever the *pretender* comes in, they will, next to those of his own religion, have the fairest claim and pretensions to his favour from their merit and eminent services to his supposed father, who, without such encouragement, would probably never have been misled to go the lengths he did. It should likewise be remembered, to the everlasting honour of the *London* divines, that in those dangerous times they writ and published the best collection of arguments against *popery*, that ever appeared in the world. At the revolution the body of the *clergy* joined heartily in the common cause (except a few, whose sufferings perhaps have atoned for their mistakes) ; like men who are content to go about for avoiding a gulph or a precipice, but come into the old straight road again, as soon as they can. But another temper had now begun to prevail : for, as in the reign of king *Charles* the first several well-meaning people were ready to join in reforming some abuses, while others, who had deeper designs, were still calling out for a *thorough reformation*, which ended at last in the ruin of the kingdom ; so, after the late king's com-

ing to the throne, there was a restless cry from men of *the same principles* for a *thorough revolution*; which, as *some* were carrying it on, must have ended in the destruction of the monarchy and church.

What a violent humour hath run ever since against the clergy, and from what corner spread and fomented, is, I believe, manifest to all men. It looked like a set quarrel against *christianity*; and, if we call to mind several of the *leaders*, it must, in a great measure, have been actually so. Nothing was more common in writing and conversation, than to hear that reverend body charged in gross with what was utterly inconsistent; despised for their poverty, hated for their riches; reproached with avarice, and taxed with luxury; accused for promoting arbitrary power, and for resisting the prerogative; censured for their pride, and scorned for their meanness of spirit. The representatives of the lower clergy were railed at for disputing the power of the bishops by the known abhorers of episcopacy; and abused for doing nothing in the convocations by those very men, who helped to bind up their hands. The vice, the folly, the ignorance of every single man, were laid upon the character: their jurisdiction, censures, and discipline trampled under foot; yet mighty complaints against their excessive power: the men of wit employed to turn the priesthood itself into ridicule: in short, groaning every where under the weight of poverty, oppression, contempt, and obloquy. A fair return for the time and money spent in their education to fit them for the service

vice

vice of the altar; and a fair encouragement for worthy men to come into the church! However, it may be some comfort for persons of that holy function, that their Divine founder, as well as his *bar-binger*, met with the like reception: *John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say, He hath a devil; the Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber, etc.*

In this deplorable state of the clergy, nothing but the hand of Providence, working by its glorious instrument the QUEEN, could have been able to turn the people's hearts so surprisngly in their favour. This princess, destined for the safety of *Europe*, and a blessing to her subjects, began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church; and it was hoped the nation would have followed such an example; which nothing could have prevented, but the false politicks of a sett of men, who form their maxims upon those of every tottering commonwealth, which is always struggling for life, subsisting by expedients, and often at the mercy of any powerful neighbour. These men take it into their imagination, that trade can never flourish, unless the country becomes a common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages; a system only proper for small popular states, but altogether unworthy and below the dignity of an imperial crown; which with us is best upheld by a monarchy in possession of its just prerogative, a senate of nobles and of commons, and a clergy established in its due rights with a suitable maintenance by law. But these men
come

come with the spirit of *shop-keepers* to frame rules for the administration of kingdoms ; or, as if they thought the whole art of government consisted in the importation of *nutmegs*, and the curing of *her-rings*. Such an island as ours can afford enough to support the majesty of a crown, the honour of a nobility, and the dignity of a magistracy : we can encourage arts and sciences, maintain our bishops and clergy, and suffer our gentry to live in a decent, hospitable manner ; yet still there will remain hands sufficient for trade and manufactures, which do always indeed deserve the best encouragement, but not to a degree of sending every living soul into the *warehouse* or the *workshop*.

This pedantry of republican politicks hath done infinite mischief among us. To this we owe those noble schemes of treating christianity as a system of *speculative opinions*, which no man should be bound to believe ; of making the *being*, and the worship of God, a *creature* of the state ; in consequence of these, that the teachers of religion ought to hold their maintenance at pleasure, or live by the alms and charitable collection of the people, and be equally encouraged of all opinions ; that they should be *prescribed* what to teach by those, who are to learn from them ; and upon default have a *staff* and a *pair of shoes* left at their door : with many other projects of equal piety, wisdom, and good nature.

But, God be thanked, they and their schemes are vanished, and *their places shall know them no more*. When I think of that inundation of atheism, infidelity,

delity, profaneness, and licentiousness, which was like to overwhelm us, from what mouths and hearts it first proceeded, and how the people joined with the QUEEN's endeavours to divert this flood, I cannot but reflect on that remarkable passage in the *Revelations*, where *the serpent with SEVEN heads cast out of his mouth water after the WOMAN like a flood, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood: but the EARTH helped the WOMAN, and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood, which the dragon had cast out of his mouth.* For the QUEEN having changed her ministry suitable to her own wisdom, and the wishes of her subjects, and having called a free parliament, and at the same time summoned the convocation by her royal writ, *as in all times had been accustomed*; and soon after their meeting, sent a most gracious letter to the archbishop of *Canterbury* to be communicated to the bishops and clergy of his province; taking notice of “the loose and profane principles, which had been openly scattered and propagated among her subjects: “that the consultations of the clergy were particularly requisite to repress and prevent such daring attempts, for which her subjects, from all parts of the kingdom, have shewn their just abhorrence; *she* hopes the endeavours of the clergy in this respect will not be unsuccessful; and for her part, is ready to give them all fit encouragement to proceed in the dispatch of such business, as properly belongs to them; and to grant them powers requisite to carry on so good a work:”

in

in conclusion, “earnestly recommending to them
 “to avoid disputes ; and determining to do all that
 “in her lies to compose and extinguish them.”

It is to be hoped, that this last part of her majesty's letter will be the first she will please to execute ; for, it seems, this very letter created the first dispute ; the fact whereof is thus related : The upper house having formed an address to the QUEEN, before they received her majesty's letter, sent both address and letter together to the lower house, with a message excusing their not mentioning the letter in the address, because *this* was formed before the *other* was received. The lower house returned them with a desire, that an address might be formed with due regard and acknowledgments for the letter. After some difficulties, the same address was sent down again with a clause inserted, making some short mention of the said letter. This the lower house did not think sufficient, and sent it back with the same request : whereupon the archbishop, after a short consultation with *some* of his brethren, immediately adjourned the convocation for a month ; and no address at all was sent to the QUEEN.

I understand not ecclesiastical affairs well enough to comment upon this matter ; but it seems to me, that all methods of doing service to the church and kingdom, by means of a *convocation*, may be at any time eluded, if there be no remedy against such an incident. And, if this proceeding be agreeable to the institution, *spiritual assemblies* must needs be strangely

ly contrived, very different from any *lay senate* yet known in the world. Surely, from the nature of such a *synod*, it must be a very unhappy circumstance, when the majority of the bishops draws one way, and that of the lower clergy another. The latter, I think, are not at this time suspected for any principles bordering upon those professed by enemies to episcopacy; and if they happen to differ from the greater part of the *present sett* of bishops, I doubt it will call *some things* to mind, that may turn the scale of general favour on the inferior clergy's side; who, with a profound duty to her majesty, are perfectly pleased with the *present turn of affairs*. Besides, *curious people* will be apt to enquire into the *dates of some promotions*, to call to mind what designs were then upon the anvil; and from thence make *malicious deductions*. Perhaps, they will observe the manner of voting on the bishops bench, and compare it with what shall pass in the upper house of convocation. There is however one comfort; that, under the present dispositions of the kingdom, a dislike to the proceedings of any of their lordships, even to the number of a *majority*, will be purely *personal*, and not turned to the disadvantage of the *order*. And for my part, as I am a true lover of the church, I had rather find the inclinations of the people favourable to *episcopacy* in general, than see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are *known enemies* to the character. Nor indeed hath any thing given me more offence
for

for several years past, than to observe, how *some* of that bench have been caressed by *certain persons*; and *others* of them openly celebrated by the infamous pens of atheists, republicans, and fanaticks.

Time and *mortality* can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church, which are not to be cured, like those in the state, by a *change of ministry*. If we may guess the temper of a *convocation* from the choice of a *prolocutor*, as it is usual to do that of a house of commons by the *speaker*, we may expect great things from that reverend body, who have done themselves much reputation by pitching upon a *gentleman* of so much piety, wit, and learning, for that office; and one, who is so thoroughly versed in those parts of knowledge, which are proper for it. I am sorry, that the three *latin* speeches delivered upon presenting the *prolocutor* were not made public; they might perhaps have given us some light into the disposition of each house: and besides, one of them is said to be so peculiar in the style and matter, as might have made up in *entertainment* what it wanted in *instruction*.

NUMBER XXII.

THURSDAY, January 4, 1711.

Nullae sunt occultiores insidiae, quam eae, quae latent in simulatione officii, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.

The following answer is written in the true style, and with the usual candour of such pieces; which I have imitated to the best of my skill, and doubt not but the reader will be extremely satisfied with it.

The EXAMINER cross-examined;

A full answer to the last EXAMINER.

IF I durst be so bold with this author, I would gladly ask him a familiar question; *Pray, sir, who made you an examiner?* He talks, in one of his insipid papers, of *eight or nine thousand corruptions*, while *we* were at the head of affairs; yet in all this time he hath hardly produced fifty:

Parturiunt montes, etc.

HOR.

But I shall confine myself at present to his last paper. He tells us, *the queen began her reign with a noble benefaction to the church.* Here's *priestcraft* with a witness! This is the constant language of your *high-fliers* to call those, who are *hired* to teach the religion of the magistrate, by the name of the church.

VOL. VII.

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But

But this is not all ! for in the very next line he says, *it was hoped the nation would have followed this example.* You see the *faction* begins already to speak out : this is an open demand for the abbey lands ; this furious zealot would have us *priest-ridden* again, like our popish ancestors ; but it is to be hoped the government will take timely care to suppress such audacious attempts ; else we have spent so much blood and treasure to very little purpose in maintaining *religion* and the *revolution*. But what can we expect from a man, who at one blow endeavours to ruin our trade ? *A country*, says he, *may flourish* (these are his own words) *without being the common receptacle for all nations, religions, and languages.* What ! we must immediately banish, or murder the *Palatines* ; forbid all foreign merchants not only the *Exchange*, but the kingdom ; persecute the dissenters with fire and faggot ; and make it high-treason to speak any other tongue but *English*. In another place he talks of a *serpent* with *seven heads*, which is a manifest corruption of the text ; for the words, *seven heads*, are not mentioned in that verse. However, we know what *serpent* he would mean ; a *serpent* with *fourteen legs* ; or, indeed, no *serpent* at all, but seven great men, who were the *best ministers*, the *truest protestants*, and the most *disinterested patriots*, that ever served a prince. But nothing is so inconsistent as this writer. I know not whether to call him a whig or a tory, a protestant or a papist ; he finds fault with convocations ; says, *they are assemblies strangely contrived* ; and yet lays the

the fault upon us, that we *bound their hands*: I wish we could have bound their *tongues* too. But, as fast as their *hands* were bound, they could make a shift to hold their *pens*, and have their share in the guilt of ruining the hopefullest party and ministry, that ever *prescribed* to a crown. 'This captious gentleman is angry to *see a majority of prelates cried up by those, who are enemies to the character*: now I always thought, that the concessions of enemies were more to a man's advantage, than the praise of his friends. *Time and mortality*, he says, *can only remedy these inconveniencies in the church*: that is, in other words, when certain bishops are dead, we shall have others of our own stamp. Not so fast: you are not yet so sure of your game. We have already got one *comfortable loss* in *Spain*, although by a general of our own: for joy of which our *junto* had a merry-meeting at the house of their great proselyte, on the very day we received the happy news. One or two more such *blows* would, perhaps, set us right again; and then we can employ mortality, as well as others. He concludes with wishing, that *three letters, spoken when the prolocutor was presented, were made public*. I suppose he would be content with *one*; and that is more than we shall humour him to grant. However, I hope he will allow it possible to have *grace*, without either *eloquence* or *latin*; which is all I shall say to this malicious *innuendo*.

Having thus, I hope, given a *full and satisfactory answer* to the *Examiner's* last paper, I shall now

go on to a more important affair, which is, to prove, by several undeniable instances, that the late ministry and their abettors were true friends to the church. It is yet, I confess, a secret to the clergy, wherein this friendship did consist. For information therefore of that reverend body, that they may never forget their benefactors, as well as of all others who may be equally ignorant, I have determined to display our merits to the world upon that weighty article. And I could wish, that what I am to say were to be written in brass for an eternal memorial; the rather, because for the future the church must endeavour to stand unsupported by those patrons, who expired in doing it their *last good office*, and will never *rise* to preserve it any more.

Let us therefore produce the pious endeavours of these church-defenders, who were its patrons by their power and authority, as well as ornaments of it by their exemplary lives.

First, St. Paul tells us, *there must be heresies in the church, that the truth may be manifest*; and therefore, by due course of reasoning, the more heresies there are, the more manifest will the truth be made. This being maturely considered by these lovers of the church, they endeavoured to propagate as many heresies as they could, that the light of truth might shine the clearer.

Secondly, To shew their zeal for the church's defence, they took the care of it intirely out of the hands of *God Almighty* (because that was a *foreign* jurif-

jurisdiction), and made it their own *creature*, depending altogether upon them; and issued out their orders to *Tindal*, and others, to give public notice of it.

Thirdly, Because *charity* is the most celebrated of all christian virtues, therefore they extended theirs beyond all bounds; and, instead of shutting the church against *dissenters*, were ready to open it to all *comers*, and *break down its walls*, rather than any should want room to enter. The strength of a state, we know, consisteth in the number of people, how different soever in their callings; and why should not the strength of a church consist in the same, how different soever in their *creeds*? For that reason, they charitably attempted to abolish the *test*, which tied up so many hands from getting employments, in order to protect the church.

I know very well, that this attempt is objected to us as a crime by several *malignant tories*; and denied as a slander by many unthinking people among ourselves. The latter are apt, in their defence, to ask such questions as these; *Was your test repealed? Had we not a majority? Might we not have done it, if we pleased?* To which the others answer; *You did what you could: you prepared the way, but you found a fatal impediment from that quarter, whence the sanction of the law must come; and therefore, to save your credit, you condemned a paper to be burnt, which yourselves had brought in.* But, alas! the miscarriage of that noble project for the safety of

the church had another original; the knowledge whereof depends upon a piece of secret history, which I shall now lay open.

These church-protectors had directed a *presbyterian preacher* to draw up a bill for repealing the *test*. It was accordingly done with great art; and, in the preamble, several expressions of civility to the *established church*; and when it came to the qualifications of all those, who were to enter on any office, the compiler had taken special care to make them large enough for all *christians* whatsoever, by transcribing the very words (only formed to an *oath*) which *quakers* are obliged to profess by a former act of parliament; as I shall here set them down: *I, A. B. profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his eternal Son, the true God; and in the Holy Spirit, one God, blessed for evermore; and do acknowledge the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.* This bill was carried to the chief leaders, for their approbation, with these terrible words turned into an oath. What should they do? Those few among them, who fancied they believed in *God*, were sure they did not believe in *Christ*, or the *Holy Spirit*, or one syllable of the *Bible*; and they were as sure that every body knew their opinion in those matters, which indeed they had been always too sincere to disguise; how therefore could they take such an oath as that, without ruining their reputation with *Tindal*, *Toland*, *Coward*, *Collins*, *Clendon*, and all the tribe of *free-thinkers*, and so give a scandal to weak un-

believers? Upon this nice point of honour and conscience, the matter was hushed, the project for repealing the *test* let fall, and the *sacrament* left as the smaller evil of the two.

Fourthly, These pillars of the church, because *the harvest was great, and the labourers few*, and because they would ease the bishops from the grievous trouble of *laying on hands*, were willing to allow that power to all men whatever, to prevent that terrible consequence of *unchurching* those, who thought a hand from under a *cloak* as effectual as from *lawn sleeves*. And, indeed, what could more contribute to the advancement of true religion, than a bill of general *naturalization for priest-hood*?

Fifthly, In order to fix religion in the minds of men, because truth never appears so fair as when confronted with falsehood, they directed books to be published, that denied the being of a God, the divinity of the *Second and Third Persons*, the truth of all revelation, and the immortality of the soul. To this we owe that great sense of religion, that respect and kindness to the clergy, and that true love of virtue so manifest of late years among the youth of our nation. Nor could any thing be more discreet, than to leave the merits of each cause to such wise, impartial judges; who might otherwise fall under the slavery of believing by *education and prejudice*.

Sixthly, Because nothing so much distracts the thoughts, as too great a variety of subjects; therefore they had kindly prepared a bill to prescribe the clergy what subjects they should preach upon,

and in what manner, that they might be at no loss; and this, no doubt, was a proper work for such hands, so thoroughly versed in the theory and practice of all christian duties.

Seventhly, To save trouble and expence to the clergy, they contrived that *convocations* should meet as seldom as possible; and, when they were suffered to assemble, would never allow them to meddle with any business; because, *they said*, the office of a clergyman was enough to take up the *whole man*. For the same reason, they were very desirous to excuse the bishops from sitting in parliament, that they might be at more leisure to stay at home and look after the inferior clergy.

I shall mention, at present, but one more instance of their pious zeal for the church. They had somewhere heard the maxim, that *sanguis martyrū est semen ecclesiæ*; therefore, in order to *sow the seed*, they began with *impeaching a clergyman*: and that it might be a true martyrdom in every circumstance, they proceeded, as much as possible, against common law; which the *long-robe part* of the *managers* knew was, in an hundred instances, directly contrary to all their positions, and *were sufficiently warned of it before-hand*; but their love of the church prevailed. Neither was this impeachment an affair taken up on a sudden; for a certain great person (whose character hath been lately published by some stupid and lying writer), who very much distinguished himself by his zeal in forwarding this *impeachment*, had, several years ago, endeavoured to persuade

persuade the late king to give way to just such another attempt. He told his majesty, there was a certain clergyman, who preached very dangerous sermons ; and that the only way to put a stop to such insolence was to impeach him in parliament. The king enquired the character of the man : *O sir*, said my lord, *the most violent, hot, positive fellow in England : so extremely wilful, that, I believe, he would be heartily glad to be a martyr.* The king answered, *Is it so ? then I am resolved to disappoint him ;* and would never hear more of the matter : by which that hopeful project unhappily miscarried.

I have hitherto confined myself to those endeavours, for the good of the church, which were common to all leaders and principal men of *our* party : but, if my paper were not drawing towards an end, I could produce several instances of particular persons, who, by their exemplary lives and actions, have confirmed the character so justly due to the whole body. I shall at present mention only two, and illustrate the merit of each by a matter of fact.

That worthy patriot and *true lover* of the church, whom a *late Examiner* is supposed to reflect on under the name of *Verres*, felt a pious impulse to be a benefactor to the cathedral of *Gloucester* ; but how to do it in the most decent generous manner, was the question. At last he thought of an expedient. One morning, or night, he stole into the church, mounted upon the altar, and there did that which, in cleanly phrase, is called *disburthening of nature*. He was discovered, prosecuted, and condemned to pay

pay a thousand *pounds*; which sum was all employed to *support the church*, as, no doubt, the *benefactor* meant it.

There is another person, whom the same writer is thought to point at under the name of *Will Bigamy*. This gentleman, knowing that marriage-fees were a considerable perquisite to the clergy, found out a way of improving them *cent. per cent.* for the *good of the church*. His invention was to marry a second wife while the first was alive, convincing her of the lawfulness by such arguments as, he did not doubt, would make others follow the same example. These he had drawn up in writing, with intention to publish for the *general good*; and, it is hoped, he may *now* have leisure to finish them.

NUMBER XXIII.

THURSDAY, January 11, 1711.

Bellum ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur.

I AM satisfied, that no reasonable man of either party can be justly offended at any thing I said in one of my papers relating to the army. From the maxims I there laid down, perhaps, many persons may conclude, that I had a mind the world should think there had been occasion given by some late abuses among men of that calling. And they conclude right : for my intention is, that my hints may be understood, and my quotations and allegories applied : and I am in some pain to think, that in the *Orcades* on one side, and the *western* coasts of *Ireland* on the other, the *Examiner* may want a *key* in several parts, which I wish I could furnish them with. As to the *French* king, I am under no concern at all : I hear he hath left off reading my papers, and, by what he hath found in them, dislikes our proceedings more than ever ; and intends, either to make great additions to his armies, or propose new terms for a peace. So false is that, which is commonly reported of his mighty satisfaction in our change of ministry. And I think it clear, that his late letter of thanks to the *tories* of *Great Britain*, must either have been extorted from him against his

his judgment, or was a cast of politics to set the people against the present ministry; wherein it hath *wonderfully* succeeded.

But though I have never heard, or never regarded, any objections made against the paper which mentions the army; yet I intended this as a sort of apology for it. And, first, I declare (because we live in a mistaken world) that in hinting at some proceedings, wherein a few persons are said to be concerned, I did not intend to charge them upon the body of the army. I have too much detested that barbarous injustice among the writers of a late party to be guilty of it myself; I mean the accusing societies for the crimes of a few. On the other side, I must take leave to believe, that armies are no more exempt from corruptions than other numbers of men. The maxims proposed were occasionally introduced by the report of certain facts, which I am bound to believe are true, because I am sure, considering what hath passed, it would be a crime to think otherwise. All posts in the army, all employments at court, and many others, are, *or ought to be*, given and resumed at the mere pleasure of the prince; yet when I see a great officer broke, a change made in the court or the ministry, and this under the most just and gracious princess that ever reigned, I must naturally conclude, it is done upon prudent considerations, and for some great demerit in the sufferers. But then, is not the punishment sufficient? Is it generous, or charitable, to trample on the unfortunate, and expose their faults to the world

world in the strongest colours? And would it not suit better with magnanimity, as well as common good-nature, to leave them at quiet to their own thoughts and repentance? Yes, without question; provided it could be so contrived, that their very names, as well as actions, might be forgotten for ever: *such* an act of oblivion would be for the honour of the nation, and beget a better opinion of us with posterity; and then I might have spared the world and myself the trouble of *examining*. But, at present, there is a cruel *dilemma* in the case; the friends and abettors of the late ministry are every day publishing their praises to the world, and casting reflexions upon the present persons in power. This is so bare-faced an aspersion upon the QUEEN, that I know not how any good subject can with patience endure it, although he were ever so indifferent with regard to the opinions in dispute. Shall they, who have lost all power and love of the people, be allowed to scatter their poison; and shall not those, who are at least of the strongest side, be suffered to bring an antidote? And how can we undeceive the deluded remainder, but by letting them see, that these discarded statesmen were justly laid aside; and producing as many instances to prove it as we can; not from any personal hatred to them, but in justification to the best of queens? The many scurrilities I have heard and read against this poor paper of mine, are in such a strain, that, considering the present state of affairs, they look like a jest. They usually run after the following manner: “What!

“ shall

“ shall this insolent writer presume to censure the
 “ late ministry, the ablest, the most faithful, and
 “ truest lovers of their country and its constitution,
 “ that ever served a prince ? Shall he reflect on
 “ the best house of commons that ever sat
 “ within those walls ? Hath not the queen
 “ changed both for a ministry and parliament of *ja-*
 “ *cobites* and *high-fliers*, who are selling us to *France*,
 “ and bringing over the *pretender* ? ” This is the
 the very sum and force of all their reasonings ; and
 this is their method of complaining against the *Ex-*
aminer. In *them*, it is humble and loyal to reflect up-
 on the QUEEN, and the ministry and parliament she
 hath chosen with the universal applause of the peo-
 ple : in *us*, it is insolent to defend her majesty and
 her choice, or to answer their objections by shewing
 the reasons why those changes were necessary.

The same style hath been used in the late case con-
 cerning some gentlemen in the army. Such a cla-
 mour was raised by a sett of men, who had the bold-
 ness to tax the administration with cruelty and in-
 justice, that I thought it necessary to interfere a lit-
 tle by shewing the ill consequences that might arise
 from some proceedings, although without application
 to particular persons. And what do they offer in an-
 swer ? Nothing but a few poor common-places
 against *calumny* and *informers* ; which might have
 been full as just and reasonable in a plot against the
 sacred person of the QUEEN.

But, by the way, why are these idle people so in-
 discreet to name those *two words*, which afford oc-
 casion of laying open to the world such an infamous
 scene

scene of *subordination* and *perjury*, as well as *calumny* and *informing*, as, I believe, is without example; when a whole *cabal* attempted an *action*, wherein a *condemned criminal* [k] refused to join with them for the reward of his life? Not that I disapprove their sagacity, who could foretel so long before by what *hand* they should one day fall, and therefore thought any means justifiable by which they might prevent it.

But, waving this at present, it must be owned, in justice to the army, that those violences did not proceed so far among them as some have believed; nor ought the madness of a *few* to be laid at their doors. For the rest, I am so far from denying the due praises to those brave troops, who did their part in procuring so many victories for the *allies*, that I could wish every officer and private soldier had their full share of honour in proportion to their deserts; being thus far of the *Athenian's* mind, who, when it was proposed that the statue of *Miltiades* should be set up alone in some public place of the city, said, they would agree to it *whenever he conquered alone*, but not before. Neither do I at all blame the officers of the army for preferring in their hearts the late ministry before the present; or, if wishing alone could be of any use, for wishing their continuance, because then they might be secure of the war's continuance too: whereas, since affairs have been put into their hands, they may perhaps lie under some apprehensions of a peace; which no army, especially in the course of success, was ever inclin-

[k] *Greg.*

ed to ; and which all wise states have, in such a juncture, chiefly endeavoured. This is a point, wherein the civil and military politics have always disagreed : and for that reason I affirmed it necessary, in all free governments, that the latter should be absolutely in subjection to the former ; otherwise one of these two inconveniencies must arise, either to be perpetually in war, or to turn the *civil* institution into a *military*.

I am ready to allow all that hath been said of the valour and experience of our troops, who have fully contributed their part to the great successes abroad ; nor is it their fault, that these important victories had no better consequences at home, though it may be their *advantage*. War is their trade and business : to improve and cultivate the advantages of success, is an affair of the cabinet ; and the neglect of this, whether proceeding from weakness or corruption, according to the usual uncertainty of wars, may be of the most fatal consequence to a nation. For, pray, let me represent our condition in such a light, as I believe both parties will allow, though perhaps not the consequences I shall deduce from it. We have been for above nine years blest with a QUEEN, who, besides all virtues that can enter into the composition of a private person, possesseth every regal quality that may contribute to make a people happy : of great wisdom, yet ready to receive the advice of her counsellors : of much discernment in chusing proper instruments, when she follows her own judgment ; and only capable of being deceived

by that excess of goodness which makes her judge of others by herself: frugal in her management, in order to contribute to the public, which, in proportion, she doth, and that voluntarily, beyond any of her subjects: but from her own nature generous and charitable to all, who want or deserve; and, in order to exercise those virtues, denying herself all entertainments of expence, which many others enjoy. Then, if we look abroad, at least in *Flanders*, our arms have been crowned with perpetual success in battles and sieges; not to mention several fortunate actions in *Spain*. These facts being thus stated, which none can deny; it is natural to ask, how we have improved such advantages, and to what account they have turned? I shall use no discouraging terms. When a patient grows daily worse by the tampering of mountebanks, there is nothing left but to call in the best physicians before the case grows desperate. But I would ask, whether *France*, or any other kingdom, would have made so little use of such prodigious opportunities? the fruits whereof could never have fallen to the ground without the extremest degree of folly and corruption; and where those have lain, let the world judge. Instead of aiming at peace, while we had the advantage of the war, which hath been the perpetual maxim of all wise states, it hath been reckoned factious and malignant even to express our wishes for it; and such a condition imposed, as was never offered to any prince, who had an inch of ground to dispute; *quæ enim est*

conditio pacis, in qua ei, cum quo pacem facias, nihil concedi potest?

It is not obvious to conceive what could move men, who sat at home, and were called to consult upon the good of the kingdom, to be so utterly from putting an end to a long expensive war, which the victorious, as well as conquered, side were heartily weary of. Few, or none of them, were men of the sword; they had no share in the honour; they had made large fortunes, and were at the head of all affairs. But they well knew by what tenure they held their power; that the queen saw through their designs; that they had fairly lost the hearts of the clergy; that the landed men were against them; that they were detested by the body of the people; and that nothing bore them up but their credit with the bank, and other stocks, which would be neither formidable nor necessary, when the war was at an end. For these reasons, they resolved to disappoint all overtures of a peace, until they and their party should be so deeply rooted as to make it impossible to shake them. To this end, they began to precipitate matters so fast, as, in a little time, must have ruined the constitution, if the crown had not interposed, and rather ventured the accidental effects of their malice, than such dreadful consequences of their power. And, indeed, if the former danger had been greater than some hoped or feared, I see no difficulty in the choice, which was the same with his, who said, *he had rather be devoured by wolves than by rats.* I therefore

fore still insist, that we cannot wonder at, or find fault with, the army for concurring with the ministry, which was for prolonging the war. The inclination is natural in them all; pardonable in those, who have not yet made their fortunes; and as lawful in the rest, as love of power, or love of money, can make it. But as natural, as pardonable, and as lawful as this inclination is, when it is not under check of the civil power, or when a corrupt ministry joins in giving it too great a scope, the consequence can be nothing less than infallible ruin and slavery to the state.

After I had finished this paper, the printer sent me two small pamphlets, called *The management of the war*; written with some plausibility, much artifice, and abundance of misrepresentations, as well as direct falsehoods in point of fact. These I have thought worth examining; which I shall accordingly do, when I find an opportunity.

NUMBER XXIV.

THURSDAY, January 18, 1710-11.

Parva momenta in spem metumque impellunt animos.

H O P E S are natural to most men, especially to sanguine complexions ; and among the various changes, that happen in the course of public affairs, they are seldom without some grounds. Even in desperate cases, where it is impossible they should have any foundation, they are often affected, to keep a countenance, and make an enemy think we have some resource which they knew nothing of. This appears to have been for several months past the condition of those people, whom I am forced, for want of other phrases, to call the *ruined party*. They have taken up, since their fall, some real and some pretended hopes. When the earl of *Sunderland* was discarded, they hoped her majesty would proceed no farther in the change of her ministry ; and had the insolence to misrepresent her words to foreign states. They likewise *hoped*, that we should have some terrible loss abroad, which would force us to unravel all, and begin again upon their bottom. But, of all their *hopes*, whether real or assumed, there is none more extraordinary than that, which they now would seem to place their whole confidence in : that this great turn of affairs was
only

only occasioned by a short madness of the people, from which they will recover in a little time, when their eyes are open, and they grow cool and sober enough to consider the truth of things, and how much they have been deceived. It is not improbable, that some few of the deepest-sighted among these reasoners are well enough convinced, how vain all such *hopes* must be : but for the rest, the wisest of them seem to have been very ill judges of the people's dispositions ; the want of which knowledge was a principal occasion to hasten their ruin : for surely, had they suspected which way the popular current inclined, they never would have run against it by that *impeachment*. I therefore conclude, they generally are so blind, as to imagine some comfort from this fantastical opinion ; that the people of *England* are at present distracted, but will shortly come to their senses again.

For the service therefore of our adversaries and friends, I shall briefly *examineth* is point, by shewing what are the causes and symptoms of a people's madness ; and how it differs from their natural bent and inclination.

It is *Machiavel's* observation, that the people, when left to their own judgment, do seldom mistake their true interests ; and indeed they naturally love the constitution they are born under ; never desiring to change but under great oppressions. However, they are to be deceived by several means. It hath often happened in *Greece*, and sometimes in *Rome*, that those very men, who have contributed

to shake off a former tyranny, have, instead of restoring the old constitution, deluded the people into a worse and more ignominious slavery. Besides, all great changes have the same effect upon commonwealths, that thunder hath upon liquors, making the *dregs* fly up to the top; the lowest *Plebeians* rise to the head of affairs, and there preserve themselves, by representing the nobles and other friends to the old government as enemies to the public. The encouraging of new mysteries and new deities, with the pretences of farther purity in religion, hath likewise been a frequent topic to mislead the people. And, not to mention more, the promoting false reports of dangers from abroad hath often served to prevent them from fencing against real dangers at home. By these and the like arts, in conjunction with a great depravity of manners, and a weak or corrupt administration, the madness of the people hath risen to such a height, as to break in pieces the whole frame of the best-instituted governments. But however such great frenzies, being artificially raised, are a perfect force and constraint upon human nature; and under a wise steady prince will certainly decline of themselves, settling, like the sea, after a storm; and then the true bent and genius of the people will appear. Ancient and modern story are full of instances to illustrate what I say.

In our own island, we had a great example of a long madness in the people, kept up by a thousand artifices, like intoxicating medicines, until the constitution was destroyed; yet, the malignity being
spent,

spent, and the humour exhausted that served to form it, before the usurpers could fix upon a new scheme, the people suddenly recovered, and peaceably restored the old constitution.

From what I have offered, it will be easy to decide, whether this late change in the disposition of the people was a new madness, or a recovery from an old one. Neither do I see how it can be proved, that such a change had, in any circumstance, the least symptoms of madness, whether my description of it be right or no. It is agreed, that the truest way of judging the disposition of the people in the choice of their representatives, is, by computing the county elections; and in these it is manifest, that five or six are entirely for the present measures; although the court was so far from interposing its credit, that there was no change in the admiralty, not above one or two in the lieutenancy, nor any other methods used to influence elections. The free, unextorted addresses sent some time before from every part of the kingdom, plainly shewed what sort of bent the people had taken, and from what motives. The election of members of this great city, carried, contrary to all conjecture, against the united interest of those two great bodies, the *Bank* and *East India company*, was another convincing argument. Besides, the *whigs* themselves have always confessed, that the bulk of landed men in *England* was generally of *tories*. So that this change must be allowed to be according to the natural genius

and disposition of the people; whether it were just and reasonable in itself, or no.

Notwithstanding all which, you shall frequently hear the partisans of the late men in power gravely and decisively pronounce, that the present ministry cannot possibly stand. Now they who affirm this, if they believe themselves, must ground their opinion upon the iniquity of the *last* being so far established and deeply rooted, that no endeavours of honest men will be able to restore things to their former state. Or else these reasoners have been so misled by twenty years mismanagement, that they have forgot our constitution, and talk as if our monarchy and revolution began together. But the body of the people is wiser; and by the choice they have made, shew they do understand our constitution, and would bring it back to the old form; which, if the new ministers take care to maintain, they will and ought to stand; otherwise they may fall like their predecessors. But, I think, we may easily foresee what a parliament, freely chosen, without threatening or corruption, is likely to do, when no man shall be in any danger to lose his *place* by the freedom of his *voice*.

But who are the advancers of this opinion, that the present ministry cannot hold? It must be either such as are afraid to be called to an account, in case it should hold; or those who keep offices, from which others, better qualified, were removed, and may reasonably apprehend to be turned out for worthier men to come into their places; since, per-

hads, it will be necessary to make some changes, that the public business of the nation may go on : or, lastly, *stock-jobbers*, who industriously spread such reports, that actions may fall, and their friends buy to advantage.

Yet these hopes, thus freely expressed, as they are more sincere, so they are more supportable, than when they appear under the *disguise* and pretence of *fears*. Some of these gentlemen are employed to shake their heads in proper companies ; to doubt where all this will end ; to be in mighty pain for the nation ; to shew how impossible it is that the public credit can be supported ; to pray that all may do well, in whatever hands ; but very much to doubt, that the *pretender* is at the bottom. I know not any thing so nearly resembling this behaviour, as what I have often seen among the friends of a sick man, whose interest it is that he should die. The physicians protest they see no danger, the symptoms are good, the medicines answer expectation : yet still they are not to be comforted : they whisper, he is a gone man, it is not possible he should hold out ; he hath perfect death in his face ; they never liked his doctor. At last, the patient recovers, and their joy is as false as their grief.

I believe there is no man so sanguine, as not to apprehend some ill consequences from the late change ; though not in any proportion to the good ones : but it is manifest, the former have proved much fewer and lighter than were expected,

either

either at home or abroad, by the fears of our friends, or the hopes of our enemies. Those remedies that stir the humours in a diseased body, are at first more painful than the malady itself; yet certain death is the consequence of deferring them too long. Actions have fallen, and the loans are said to come in slowly. But, besides that something of this must have been, whether there had been any change or no: besides that the surprize of every change, for the better as well as the worse, is apt to affect credit for a while; there is a farther reason, which is plain and scandalous. When the late party was at the helm, those, who were called the *tories*, never put their resentments in balance with the safety of the nation; but chearfully contributed to the common cause: now the scene is changed, the fallen party seems to act from very different motives; they have *given the word about*; they will keep their money, and be passive; and in this point, stand upon the same foot with *papists* and *nonjurors*. What would have become of the public, if the present great majority had acted thus during the late administration, before the others were masters of that wealth they had squeezed out of the landed men, and with the strength of which they would now hold the kingdom at defiance?

Thus much I have thought fit to say, without pointing reflexions upon any particular person, which I have hitherto but sparingly done, and that only towards those whose characters are too profligate for the managing of them to be of any consequence.

quence. Besides, as it is a talent I am not naturally fond of; so, in the subjects I treat, it is generally needless. If I display the effects of avarice and ambition, of bribery and corruption, of gross immorality and irreligion; those, who are the least conversant in things, will easily know where to apply them. Not that I lay any weight upon the objections of such, who charge me with this proceeding: it is notorious enough, that the writers of the other side were the first aggressors. Not to mention their scurrilous libels, many years ago, directly levelled at particular persons; how many papers do now come out every week, full of rude invectives against the present ministry, with the first and last letters of their names to prevent mistakes? It is good sometimes to let these people see, that we neither want spirit nor materials to retaliate; and therefore, in this point *alone*, I shall follow their example, whenever I find myself sufficiently provoked; only with one addition, that whatever charges I bring, either general or particular, shall be religiously true, founded either upon avowed facts, which none can deny, or such as I can prove from my own knowledge.

Being resolved publicly to confess any mistakes I have been guilty of, I do hereby humbly desire the reader's pardon for one of mighty importance, about a fact in one of my papers said to be done in the cathedral of *Gloucester*. A whole *Hydra* of errors, in two words! For, as I am since informed,

formed, it was neither in the cathedral, nor city, nor county of *Gloucester*, but some other church of that diocese. If I had ever met any other objection of equal weight, although from the meanest hands, I should certainly have answered it.

NUMBER XXV.

THURSDAY, January 25, 1710-11.

Διαλεξάμενοί τινα ἡσυχῇ, τὸ μὲν σὺμπαν ἐπὶ τῇ δυναστείᾳ,
καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συνώμοσαν.

*Summissa quædam voce collocuti sunt, quorum summa
erat de dominatione sibi confirmanda, ac inimicis
delendis, conjuratio.*

NOT many days ago, I observed a knot of discontented gentlemen, cursing the *tories* to hell for their uncharitableness in affirming, that, if the late ministry had continued to this time, we should have had neither *church* nor *monarchy* left. They are usually so candid, as to call that the opinion of the party, which they hear in a coffee-house, or over a bottle, from some warm young people, whom it is odds but they have provoked to say more than they believed, by some positions as absurd and ridiculous of their own. And so it proved in this very instance: for, asking one of these gentlemen, what it was that provoked those, he had been disputing with, to advance such a paradox; he assured me, in a very calm manner, it was nothing in the world, but that himself and some others of the company had made it appear, that the design of the present parliament, and ministry, was to bring in *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*: which I
take

take to be an opinion fifty times more improbable, as well as more uncharitable, than what is charged upon the *whigs*: because I defy our adversaries to produce one single reason for suspecting such designs in the persons now at the helm; whereas I can, upon demand, produce twenty to shew, that some late men had strong views towards a *commonwealth*, and the alteration of the *church*.

It is natural indeed, when a storm is over, that hath only untiled our houses and blown down some of our chimnies, to consider what farther mischiefs might have ensued if it had lasted longer. However, in the present case, I am not of the opinion abovementioned. I believe, the church and state might have lasted *somewhat longer*, although the late enemies to both had done their worst. I can hardly conceive how things would have been so soon ripe for a new revolution. I am convinced, that, if they had offered to make such large and sudden strides, it must have come to blows; and, according to the computation we have now reason to think a right one, I can partly guess what would have been the issue. Besides, we are sure the QUEEN would have interposed, before they came to extremities; and, as little as they regarded the regal authority, would have been a check in their career.

But, instead of this question, What would have been the consequence if the late ministry had continued; I will propose another, which will be more useful for us to consider; and that is, *What we may reasonably expect they will do, if ever they come*

into power again? This, we know, is the design and endeavours of all those scribbles, which daily fly about in their favour; of all the false, insolent, and scandalous libels against the present administration; and of all those engines, set at work to sink the *actions*, and blow up the public credit. As for those who shew their inclinations by writing, there is one consideration which I wonder doth not sometimes affect them: for, how can they forbear having a good opinion of the gentleness and innocence of those, who permit them to employ their pens as they do? It puts me in mind of an insolent, pragmatistical orator somewhere in *Greece*, who, railing with great freedom at the chief men in the state, was answered by one, who had been very instrumental in recovering the liberty of the city, that *he thanked the gods, they had now arrived to the condition he always wished them in, when every man in that city might securely say what he pleased*. I wish these gentlemen would however compare the liberty they take, with what their masters used to give; how many messengers and warrants would have gone out against any, who durst have opened their lips, or drawn their pens, against the persons and proceedings of their *juntos* and *cabals*? How would their weekly writers have been calling out for *persecution* and *punishment*? We remember, when a poor nick-name [1], borrowed from an old play of *Ben Johnson*, and mentioned in a sermon without any particular application, was made use of

[1] *Volpone* was a nick-name given to lord treasurer Godolphin.

as a motive to spur on an impeachment. But after all, it must be confessed, they had reasons to be thus severe, which their successors have not : their faults would never endure the light ; and to have exposed them sooner would have raised the kingdom against the actors, before the proper time.

But to come to the subject I have undertaken, which is, to examine what the consequences would be, upon supposition that the *whigs* were now restored to their power. I already imagine the present free parliament dissolved, and another of different epithet met by the force of money and management. I read immediately a dozen or two of stinging votes against the proceedings of the late ministry. The bill [*m*] now to be repealed would then be re-enacted, and the birth-right of an *Englishman* reduced again to the value of twelve-pence. But to give the reader a stronger imagination of such a scene, let me represent the designs of some men, lately endeavoured and projected, in the form of a paper of votes.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for repealing the
“ *sacramental test.*

“ A petition of *Tindal, Collins, Glendon, Coward,*
“ and *Toland,* in behalf of themselves and many
“ hundreds of their disciples, some of whom are
“ members of this honourable house ; desiring that
“ leave may be given to bring in a bill for quali-
“ fying *atheists, deists, and socinians,* to serve their

[*m*] A bill for a general naturalization.

country

“ country in any employment ecclesiastical, civil, or
“ military.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That leave be given to bring in a bill, accord-
“ ing to the prayer of the said petition; and that
“ Mr. *Lechmere* [n] do prepare and bring in the
“ same.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in, for removing the
“ education of youth out of the hands of the clergy.

“ Another to forbid the clergy preaching certain
“ duties in religion; especially *obedience to princes*.

“ Another to take away the jurisdiction of
“ bishops.

“ Another for constituting a general *for life*;
“ with instructions to the committee, that care may
“ be taken to make the war last as long as the life
“ of the said general.

“ A bill of attainder against *James* duke of *Or-*
“ *mond*, *John* duke of *Buckingham*, *Laurence* earl
“ of *Rocheſter*, ſir *Simon Harcourt*, knight, *Robert*
“ *Harly* and *William Shippen*, Eſquires, *Abigail*
“ *Mafham*, ſpinſter, and others, for high-treaſon
“ againſt the *junto*.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That *Sarah* duchefs of *Marlborough* hath been
“ a moſt dutiful, juſt, and grateful ſervant to her
“ majeſty.

[n] Mr. *Lechmere* was one of the managers againſt Dr. *Sacheverel*,
and ſummed up the evidence.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That to advise the dissolution of a *whig* parliament, or the removal of a *whig* ministry, was in order to bring in *popery* and the *pretender*; and that the said advice was high-treason.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That, by the *original compact*, the government of this realm is by a *junto*, and a king, or queen; but the *administration* solely in the *junto*.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That a bill be brought in for farther limiting the prerogative.

“ *Ordered,*

“ That it be a standing order of this house, that the merit of elections be not determined by the number of voices, or right of electors, but by weight; and that one *whig* shall weigh down ten *tories*.

“ A motion being made, and the question being put, that when a *whig* is detected of manifest bribery, and his competitor, being a *tory*, hath ten to one a majority, there shall be a new election; it passed in the negative.

“ *Resolved,*

“ That for a king, or queen, of this realm to read, or examine, a paper brought them to be signed by a *junto* minister, is arbitrary and illegal, and a violation of the liberties of the people.”

These, and the like reformations, would, in all probability, be the first fruits of the *whigs resurrection*; and what structures such able artists might, in a short time, build upon such foundations, I leave others to conjecture. All hopes of a *peace* cut off; the nation industriously involved in farther debts, to a degree that none would dare undertake the management of affairs, but those whose interest lay in ruining the constitution. I do not see, how the wisest prince, under such necessities, could be able to extricate himself. Then as to the *church*; the bishops would by degrees be dismissed, first from the parliament, next from their revenues; and at last from their office; and the clergy, instead of their idle claim of *independency* on the state, would be forced to depend for their daily bread on every individual. But what system of future government was designed; whether it were already digested, or would have been left for time and incidents to mature, I shall now *examine*. Only upon this occasion I cannot help reflecting on a fact, which it is probable the reader knows as well as myself. There was a picture drawn sometime ago, representing five persons, as large as the life, sitting in council together, like a *pentarchy*; a void space was left for a sixth, which was to have been the QUEEN, to whom they intended that honour: but her majesty having since fallen under their displeasure, they have made a shift to crowd in *two better friends* in her place,

which makes it a complete *heptarchy* [o]. This piece is now in the country, reserved until better times; and hangs in a hall among the pictures of *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Ireton*, and some other predecessors.

I must now desire leave to say something to a gentleman, who hath been pleased to publish a discourse against a paper of mine relating to the convocation. He promises to *set me right without any undue reflexions, or indecent language*. I suppose he means, in comparison with others, who pretend to answer the *Examiner*. So far he is right; but if he thinks he has behaved himself as becomes a candid antagonist, I believe he is mistaken. He says in his title page, *my representations are unfair, and my reflections unjust*: and his conclusion is yet more severe; where he *doubts I and my friends are enraged against the Dutch, because they preserved us from popery and arbitrary power at the revolution; and since that time from being over-run by the exorbitant power of France, and becoming a prey to the pretender*. Because this author seems in general to write with an honest meaning, I would seriously put to him the question, whether he thinks, *I and my friends are for popery, arbitrary power, France, and the pretender?* I omit other instances of smaller moment, which however do not suit in my opinion with *due re-*

[o] This heptarchy was the serpent with seven heads, mentioned in N^o. 21, 22.

flexion,

flexion, or decent language. The fact relating to the *convocation* came from a good hand, and I do not find this author differs from me in any material circumstance about it. My reflexions were no more, than what might be obvious to any other gentleman, who had heard of their late proceedings. If the notion be right, which this author gives us of a lower house of *convocation*; it is a very melancholy one, and to me seems utterly inconsistent with that of a body of men, whom he owns to have a *negative*: and therefore, since a great majority of the clergy differs from him in several points he advances, I shall rather chuse to be of their opinion than his. I fancy, when the *whole synod met in one house*, as this writer affirms, they were upon a better foot with their bishops; and therefore, whether this treatment, so extremely *de haut en bas*, since their exclusion, be suitable to primitive custom or primitive humility, towards brethren is not my business to enquire. One may allow the divinity or apostolic right of episcopacy, and its great superiority over presbyters; and yet dispute the methods of exercising the latter, which being of human institution are subject to encroachments and usurpations. I know, every clergyman in a diocese hath a great deal of dependence upon his bishop, and owes him canonical obedience: but I was apt to think, that when the whole representatives of the clergy met in a synod, they were considered in another light; at least since they are allowed to have a *negative*. If

I am mistaken, I desire to be excused, as talking out of my trade; only there is one thing, wherein I entirely differ from this author; since in the disputes about privileges *one side must recede*; where so very few privileges remain, it is a hundred to one odds; that the encroachments are not on the inferior clergy's side; and no man can blame them for insisting on the small number that is left. There is one fact, wherein I must take occasion to set this author right: that the person [p], who first moved the QUEEN to remit the first-fruits and tenths to the clergy, was *an eminent instrument in the late turn of affairs*; and, as I am told, hath lately prevailed to have the same favour granted for the clergy of *Ireland* [q].

But I must beg leave to inform this author, that my paper is not intended for the management of controversy; which would be of very little import to most readers, and only mispend time, that I would gladly employ to better purposes. For where it is a man's business to entertain a whole room-full, it is unmannerly to apply himself to a particular person, and turn his back upon the rest of the company.

[p] Earl of Oxford, lord treasurer.

[q] This was done by the author's solicitation. See *his letters to archbishop King*, vol. xii. and xiv.

NUMBER XXVI.

THURSDAY, February 1, 1710-11.

Ea autem est gloria, laus recte factorum, magnorumque in rempublicam meritorum: quæ cum optimi cujusque, tum etiam multitudinis, testimonio comprobatur.

I AM thinking, what a mighty advantage it is to be entertained as a writer to a *ruined cause*. I remember a *fanatic preacher*, who was inclined to come into the *church*, and take orders; but, upon mature thoughts, was diverted from that design, when he considered, that the collections of the *godly* were a much heartier and readier penny, than he could get by wrangling for tithes. He certainly had reason; and the two cases are parallel. If you write in defence of a fallen party, you are maintained by contribution, as a necessary person: you have little more to do than to carp and cavil at those, who hold the pen on the other side: you are sure to be celebrated and caressed by all your party to a man: you may affirm and deny what you please without truth or probability, since it is but loss of time to contradict you. Besides, *commiseration* is often on your side; and you have a pretence to be thought honest and disinterested for adhering to friends in distress: after which, if your friends ever happen to turn up again, you

have a strong fund of *merit* towards making your fortune. Then, you never fail to be well furnished with materials; every one bringing in his *quota*; and falshood being naturally more plentiful than truth: not to mention the wonderful delight of libelling men in power, and hugging yourself in a corner with mighty satisfaction for what you have done.

It is quite otherwise with us, who engage as volunteers in the service of a flourishing ministry, in full credit with the QUEEN, and beloved by the people; because they have no sinister ends or dangerous designs; but pursue with steddiness and resolution the true interest of both. Upon which account, they little want, or desire, our assistance; and we may write, till the world is weary of reading, without having our pretences allowed either to a *place*, or a *pension*: besides, we are refused the common *benefit of the party*, to have our works cried up of course; the readers of our own side being as ungentele, and hard to please, as if we writ against them; and our papers never make their way in the world, but barely in proportion to their merit. The design of their labours, who write on the conquered side, is likewise of greater importance than *ours*: they are like cordials for dying men, which must be repeated; whereas ours are, in the Scripture phrase, but *meat for babes*: at least, all I can pretend, is to undeceive the ignorant, and those at a distance; but their task is to keep up the sinking spirits of a whole party.

After

After such reflexions, I cannot be angry with those gentlemen for perpetually writing against me; it furnishes them largely with topicks: and is, besides, their proper business: neither is it affectation, or altogether *scorn*, that I do not reply. But as things are, we both act suitable to our several provinces: mine is, by laying open some corruptions in the late management, to set those, who are ignorant, right in their opinions of persons and things: it is theirs to cover with *fig-leaves* all the faults of their friends, as well as they can. When I have produced my facts, and offered my arguments, I have nothing farther to advance; it is their office to deny, and disprove; and then let the word decide. If I were as *they*, my chief endeavour should be certainly to batter down the *Examiner*; therefore I cannot but approve their design. Besides, they have indeed another reason for barking incessantly at this paper: they have in their prints openly taxed a most ingenious person, as author of it; one who is in great and very deserved reputation with the world, both on account of his poetical works and his talents for public business. They were wise enough to consider, what a sanction it would give their performances, to fall under the animadversion of such a pen; and therefore used all the forms of provocation commonly practised by little obscure pedants, who are fond of distinguishing themselves by the fame of an adversary. So nice a taste have these judicious criticks in pretending to discover an author by his style,
and

and manner of thinking ! not to mention the justice and candour of exhausting all the stale topicks of scurrility in reviling a paper, and then flinging at a venture the whole load upon one, who is entirely innocent ; and whose greatest fault perhaps is too much *gentleness* towards a party, from whose *leaders* he hath received quite contrary treatment.

The concern I have for the ease and reputation of so deserving a gentleman hath, at length, forced me, much against my interest and inclination, to let these angry people know, who is *not* the author of the *Examiner*. For I observed, the opinion began to spread ; and I chose rather to sacrifice the honour I received by it, than let injudicious people entitle him to a performance, that perhaps he might have reason to be ashamed of ; still faithfully promising never to disturb those worthy advocates ; but suffer them in quiet to roar on at the *Examiner*, if they or their party find any ease in it ; as physicians say there is to people in torment, such as men in the gout, or women in labour.

However, I must acknowledge myself indebted to them for one hint, which I shall now pursue, although in a different manner. Since the fall of the late ministry, I have seen many papers filled with their encomiums ; I conceive, in imitation of those, who write the lives of famous men, where, after their deaths, immediately follow their characters. When I saw the poor *virtues* thus dealt at random, I thought the disposers had flung their names, like *valentines* into a *hat*, to be drawn,

as fortune pleased, by the *junto* and their friends. There *Craſſius* drew *liberality* and *gratitude*; *Fulvia*, *humility* and *gentleneſs*; *Clodius*, *piety* and *juſtice*; *Gracchus*, *loyalty* to his prince; *Cinna*, *love of his country* and *conſtitution*; and ſo of the reſt. Or, to quit this allegory, I have often ſeen of late the whole ſett of diſcarded ſtateſmen celebrated by their judicious hirelings for thoſe very qualities, which their admirers owned they chiefly wanted. Did theſe *heroes* put off and lock up their *virtues*, when they came into employment; and have they now reſumed them, ſince their diſmiſſions? If they wore them, I am ſure it was *under* their *greatneſs*, and without ever once convincing the world of their *viſibility* or *influence*.

But, why ſhould not the preſent miniſtry find a pen to praiſe them, as well as the laſt? This is what I ſhall now undertake: and it may be more impartial in me, from whom they have deſerved ſo little. I have, *without being called*, ſerved them half a year in quality of *champion*; and, by help of the QUEEN, and a majority of nine in ten of the kingdom, have been able to protect them againſt a routed cabal of hated politicians with a dozen of ſcribblers at their head: yet, ſo far have they been from rewarding me ſuitably to my deſerts, that to this day they never ſo much as ſent to the *printer* to enquire, who I was: although I have known a time and miniſtry, where a perſon of half my merit and conſideration would have had fifty *promiſes*; and, in the mean time, a *pension* ſettled on him,

him, whereof the *first quarter should be honestly paid*. Therefore my resentments shall so far prevail, that, in praising those who are now at the head of affairs, I shall at the same time take notice of their defects.

Was any man more eminent in his profession than the present *lord keeper* [r], or more distinguished by his eloquence and great abilities in the house of commons? and will not his enemies allow him to be fully equal to the great station he now adorns? But then it must be granted, that he is wholly ignorant in the speculative as well as practical part of *polygamy*; he knows not how to metamorphose a sober man into a *lunatick*; he is no *free-thinker* in religion, nor hath courage to be *patron* of an atheistical book, while he is guardian of the QUEEN's conscience. Although, after all, to speak my private opinion, I cannot think these such mighty objections to his character, as some would pretend.

The person [s] who now presides at the council, is descended from a great and honourable father, not *from the dregs of the people*. He was at the head of the treasury for some years, and rather chose to enrich his prince than himself. In the height of favour and credit, he sacrificed the

[r] Sir *Simon Harcourt*, afterwards *lord Harcourt*, was made *lord keeper* upon the resignation of *lord chancellor Cowper*.

[s] *Laurence Hyde*, late earl of *Rocheſter*, in the room of *lord Somers*.

greatest employment in the kingdom to his *conscience* and *honour*. He hath been always firm in his loyalty and religion, zealous for supporting the prerogative of the crown, and preserving the liberties of the people. But then his best friends must own, that he is neither *deist* nor *socinian*; he hath never conversed with *Toland*, to open and enlarge his thoughts, and dispel the prejudices of education; nor was he ever able to arrive at that perfection of gallantry, *to ruin and imprison the husband, in order to keep the wife without disturbance.*

The present *lord steward* [t] hath been always distinguished for his wit and knowledge; is of consummate wisdom and experience in affairs; hath continued constant to the true interest of the nation, which he espoused from the beginning; and is every way qualified to support the dignity of his office: but, in point of *oratory*, must give place to his predecessor.

The duke of *Shrewsbury* [u] was highly instrumental in bringing about the *revolution*, in which service he freely exposed his life and fortune. He hath ever been the favourite of the nation, being possessed of all the amiable qualities that can accomplish a great man; but, in the agreeableness and fragrancy of his person, and the profoundness

[t] The duke of *Buckingham* and *Normandy*, in the room of the duke of *Devonshire*.

[u] Lord chamberlain, in the room of the marquis of *Kent*.

of his politicks, must be allowed to fall very short of —

Mr. *Harley* [x] had the honour of being chosen speaker successively to three parliaments. He was the first, of late years, who ventured to restore the forgotten custom of treating his PRINCE with *duty* and *respect*; easy and disengaged in private conversation; with such a weight of affairs upon his shoulders; of great learning, and as great a favourer and protector of it; intrepid by nature, as well as by the consciousness of his own integrity; and a despiser of money; pursuing the true interest of his PRINCE and country against all obstacles; sagacious to view into the remotest consequences of things, by which all difficulties fly before him; a firm friend, and a placable enemy; sacrificing his justest resentments, not only to public good, but to common intercession and acknowledgment. Yet with all these virtues it must be granted, there is some mixture of human infirmity. His greatest admirers must confess his skill at *cards* and *dice* to be very low and superficial; in *horse-racing*, he is utterly ignorant; then, to save a few millions to the publick, he never regards how many worthy *citizens* he hinders from making up their plumb. And surely there is one thing never to be forgiven him; that he delights to have his table filled with *black coats*, whom he useth as if they were *gentlemen*.

[x] Chancellor of the exchequer, upon the resignation of lord *Godolphin*.

My

My lord *Dartmouth* [y] is a man of letters, full of good sense, good nature, and honour; of strict virtue and regularity in his life; but labours under one great defect, that he treats his clerks with more civility and good manners, than others in his station have done the QUEEN.

Omitting some others, I shall close this character of the present *ministry*, with that of Mr. *St. John* [z], who, from his youth, applying those admirable talents of nature and improvements of art to public business, grew eminent in court and parliament, at an age when the generality of mankind is employed in trifles and folly. It is to be lamented, that he hath not yet procured himself a *busy, important countenance*; nor learned that profound part of wisdom, to be *difficult of access*. Besides, he hath clearly mistaken the true use of *books*, which he hath thumbed, and spoiled with reading, when he ought to have multiplied them on his shelves: not like a great man of my acquaintance, who knew a book by the back better than a friend by the face; although he had never conversed with the former, and often with the latter.

[y] He succeeded the earl of *Sunderland* as secretary of state.

[z] Secretary of state, in the room of Mr. *Henry Boyle*.

NUMBER XXVII.

THURSDAY, February 8, 1710-11.

Caput est in omni procuratione negotii et muneris publici, ut avaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio.

THERE is no vice which mankind carries to such wild extremes, as that of *avarice*. Those two, which seem to rival it in this point, are lust and ambition: but the former is checked by difficulties and diseases, destroys itself by its own pursuits, and usually declines with old age; and the latter, requiring courage, conduct, and fortune, in a high degree, and meeting with a thousand dangers and oppositions, succeeds too seldom in an age to fall under common observation. Or, avarice is, perhaps, the same passion with ambition; only placed in more ignoble and dastardly minds, by which the object is changed from *power* to *money*. Or it may be that one man pursues power in order to wealth; and another wealth in order to power; which last is the safer way, although longer about; and, suiting with every period as well as condition of life, is more generally followed.

However it be, the extremes of this passion are certainly more frequent than of any other; and often to a degree so absurd and ridiculous, that if it were not for their frequency, they could hardly

obtain belief. The *stage*, which carries other follies and vices beyond nature and probability, falls very short in the representations of *avarice*; nor are there any extravagancies in this kind described by ancient or modern comedies, which are not outdone by an hundred instances, commonly told among ourselves.

I am ready to conclude from hence, that a vice, which keeps so firm a hold upon human nature, and governs it with so unlimited a tyranny, since it cannot wholly be eradicated, ought at least to be confined to particular objects; to thrift and penury, to private fraud and extortion, and never suffered to prey upon the publick; and should certainly be rejected as the most unqualifying circumstance for any employment, where bribery and corruption can possibly enter.

If the mischiefs of this vice, in a public station, were confined to enriching only those particular persons employed, the evil would be more supportable: but it is usually quite otherwise. When a *steward* defrauds his *lord*, he must connive at the *rest of the servants*, while they are following the same practice in their several spheres: so that in some families you may observe a subordination of knaves in a link downwards to the very *helper* in the stables, all cheating by concert, and with impunity. And even if this were all, perhaps the master could bear it without being undone; but it so happens, that for every shilling the servant gets by his iniquity, the master loses twenty; the per-

quisites of servants being but small compositions for suffering shopkeepers to bring in what bills they please. It is exactly the same thing in a state: an avaricious man in office is in confederacy with the whole *clan* of his district, or dependance; which, in modern terms of art, is called *to live and let live*; and yet *their* gains are the smallest part of the publick's loss. Give a guinea to a knavish *land-waiter*, and he shall connive at the merchant for cheating the QUEEN of an hundred. A *brewer* gives a bribe to have the privilege of selling drink to the navy; but the fraud is an hundred times greater than the bribe, and the publick is at the whole loss.

Moralists make two kinds of avarice: that of *Catiline*, *alieni appetens*, *sui profusus*; and the other more generally understood by that name, which is the endless desire of hoarding. But I take the former to be more dangerous in a state, because it mingles with ambition, which I think the latter cannot; for although the same breast may be capable of admitting both, it is not able to cultivate them; and where the love of heaping wealth prevails, there is not, in my opinion, much to be apprehended from ambition. The disgrace of that fordid vice is sooner apt to spread than any other; and is always attended with the hatred and scorn of the people: so that whenever those two passions happen to meet in the same subject, it is not unlikely that Providence hath placed *avarice* to be a check upon *ambition*; and I have reason to think,

some great ministers of state have been of my opinion.

The divine authority of holy writ, the precept of philosophers, the lashes and ridicule of satyrical poets, have been all employed in exploding this insatiable thirst of money; and all equally controuled by the daily practice of mankind. Nothing new remains to be said upon the occasion; and if there did, I must remember my character, that I am an *Examiner* only, and not a *Reformer*.

However, in those cases where the frailties of particular men do nearly affect the public welfare, such as a prime minister of state, or a great general of an army; methinks there should be some expedient contrived to let them know impartially, what is the world's opinion in the point. Encompassed with a crowd of depending flatterers, they are many degrees blinder to their own faults, than the common infirmities of human nature can plead in their excuse. Advice dares not to be offered, or is wholly lost, or returned with hatred: and whatever appears in publick against the prevailing vice, goes for nothing; being either not applied, or passing only for libel and slander proceeding from the malice and envy of party.

I have sometimes thought, that if I had lived at *Rome* in the time of the first *triumvirate*, I should have been tempted to write a letter, as from an unknown hand, to those three great men, who had then usurped the sovereign power; wherein I would freely and sincerely tell each of them that

fault which I conceived was the most odious, and of worst consequence to the commonwealth. That to *Crassus* should have been sent to him after his conquests in *Mesopotamia*, and in the following terms.

“ To *Marcus Crassus*, health.

“ IF you apply, as you ought, what I now
 “ I write, you will be more obliged to me than
 “ to all the world, hardly excepting your parents,
 “ or your country. I intend to tell you, without
 “ disguise or prejudice, the opinion which the
 “ world hath entertained of you; and to let you
 “ see, I write this without any sort of ill-will,
 “ you shall first hear the sentiments they have to
 “ your advantage. No man disputes the grace-
 “ fulness of your person; you are allowed to have
 “ a good and clear understanding, cultivated by
 “ the knowledge of men and manners, although
 “ not by *literature*; you are no ill orator in the
 “ senate; you are said to excel in the art of brid-
 “ ling and subduing your anger, and stifling or
 “ concealing your resentments; you have been a
 “ most successful general, of long experience,
 “ great conduct, and much personal courage;
 “ you have gained many important victories for
 “ the commonwealth, and forced the strongest
 “ towns in *Mesopotamia* to surrender, for which
 “ frequent *supplications* have been decreed by the
 “ senate. Yet with all these qualities, and this
 “ merit, give me leave to say, you are neither be-
 “ loved

“ loved by the *Patricians* nor *Plebeians* at home,
 “ nor by the officers or private soldiers of your
 “ own army abroad. And do you know, *Crassus*,
 “ that this is owing to a fault, of which you may
 “ cure yourself by one minute’s reflexion? What
 “ shall I say? You are the richest person in the
 “ commonwealth; you have no male child; your
 “ daughters are all married to wealthy *Patricians*;
 “ you are far in the decline of life, and yet you
 “ are deeply stained with that odious and ignoble
 “ vice of *covetousness*. It is affirmed, that you
 “ descend even to the meanest and most scandal-
 “ ous degrees of it; and while you possess so
 “ many millions, while you are daily acquiring
 “ so many more, you are solicitous how to save a
 “ single *sesterce*; of which an hundred ignomini-
 “ ous instances are produced, and in all men’s
 “ mouths. I will only mention that passage of
 “ the *buskins* [a], which, after abundance of per-
 “ suasion, you would hardly suffer to be cut off
 “ from your legs, when they were so wet and
 “ cold, that to have kept them on would have en-
 “ dangered your life.

“ Instead of using the common arguments to
 “ dissuade you from this weakness, I will endea-
 “ vour to convince you, that you are really guilty
 “ of it; and leave the cure to your own good
 “ sense. For perhaps you are not yet persuaded
 “ that this is your crime; you have probably

[a] Wet stockings,

“ never yet been reproached for it to your face;
 “ and what you are now told comes from one un-
 “ known, and it may be from an enemy. You
 “ will allow yourself indeed to be prudent in the
 “ management of your fortune; you are not a
 “ prodigal, like *Clodius*, or *Catiline*; but surely
 “ that deserves not the name of *avarice*. I will
 “ inform you how to be convinced. Disguise
 “ your person, go among the common people in
 “ *Rome*, introduce discourses about yourself, en-
 “ quire your own character: do the same in your
 “ camp; walk about it in the evening, hearken
 “ at every tent; and if you do not hear every
 “ mouth censuring, lamenting, cursing this vice
 “ in you, and even you for this vice, conclude
 “ yourself innocent. If you be not yet persuaded,
 “ send for *Atticus*, *Servius*, *Sulpicius*, *Cato*, or
 “ *Brutus*; they are all your friends; conjure them
 “ to tell you ingenuously, which is your great
 “ fault, and which they would chiefly wish you
 “ to correct; if they do not agree in their verdict,
 “ *in the name of all the gods*, you are acquitted.

“ When your adversaries reflect how far you
 “ are gone in this vice, they are tempted to talk
 “ as if we owed our successes not to your courage
 “ or conduct, but to those *veteran* troops you
 “ command; who are able to conquer under any
 “ *general*, with so many brave and experienced
 “ officers to lead them. Besides, we know the
 “ consequences your avarice hath often occasion-
 “ ed. The soldier has been starving for bread,
 “ sur-

“ surrounded with plenty, and in an enemy’s
 “ country; but all under *safeguards* and *contribu-*
 “ *tions*; which, if you had sometimes pleased to
 “ have exchanged for *provisions*, might, at the ex-
 “ pence of a few talents in a campaign, have so
 “ endeared you to the army, that they would have
 “ desired you to lead them to the utmost limits of
 “ *Asia*. But you rather chose to confine your
 “ conquests within the fruitful country of *Mesopo-*
 “ *tamia*, where plenty of money might be raised.
 “ How far that fatal greediness of gold may have
 “ influenced you in breaking off the treaty with
 “ the old *Parthian* king *Orodes*, you best can tell;
 “ your enemies charge you with it; your friends
 “ offer nothing material in your defence; and all
 “ agree, there is nothing so pernicious, which
 “ the extremes of avarice may not be able to in-
 “ spire.

“ The moment you quit this vice, you will be
 “ a truly great man; and still there will be imper-
 “ fections enough remaining to convince us, you
 “ are not a *god*. Farewel.”

Perhaps a letter of this nature, sent to so rea-
 sonable a man as *Craſſus*, might have put him
 upon *examining* into himself, and correcting that
 little sordid appetite so utterly inconsistent with
 all pretences to *heroism*. A youth in the heat of
 blood may plead, with some shew of reason, that
 he is not able to subdue his lusts. An ambitious
 man may use the same arguments for his love of
 power; or perhaps other arguments to justify it.

But excess of avarice hath neither of these pleas to offer; it is not to be justified, and cannot pretend temptation for excuse. Whence can the temptation come? Reason disclaims it altogether; and it cannot be said to lodge in the *blood*, or the *animal spirits*. So that I conclude, *no man of true valour, and true understanding, upon whom this vice hath stolen unawares, when he is convinced he is guilty, will suffer it to remain in his breast an hour.*

NUMBER XXVIII.

THURSDAY, February 15, 1710-11.

Inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia?

An answer to the letter to the Examiner.

S I R,

London, Feb. 15, 1710-11.

ALTHOUGH I have wanted leisure to acknowledge the honour of a letter, you was pleased to write to me about six months ago; yet I have been very careful in obeying some of your commands, and am going on as fast as I can with the rest. I wish you had thought fit to have conveyed them to me by a more private hand than that of the *printing-house*: for although I was pleased with a pattern of style and spirit, which I proposed to imitate, yet I was sorry the world should be a witness how far I fell short in both.

I am afraid you did not consider, what an abundance of work you have cut out for me; neither am I at all comforted by the promise you are so kind to make, that when I *have performed my task*, D——n *shall blush in his grave among the dead, Walpole among the living, and even Volpone shall feel some remorse*. How the gentleman in his *grave* may have kept his countenance, I cannot inform you, having no acquaintance at all with the sexton:

ton : but for the *other two*, I take leave to assure you, there have not yet appeared the least signs of *blushing* or *remorse* in either, although *some very good opportunities* have offered, if they had thought fit to accept them : so that, with your permission, I had rather engage to continue this work until *they be in their graves* too ; which I am sure will happen much sooner than the other.

You desire I would collect *some of those indignities offered last year to her majesty*. I am ready to oblige you ; and have got a pretty tolerable collection by me, which I am in doubt whether to publish by itself in a *large volume in folio*, or scatter them here and there occasionally in my papers. Although indeed I am sometimes thinking to stifle them altogether ; because such a history will be apt to give foreigners a monstrous opinion of our country. But since it is your absolute opinion, that the world should be informed ; I will, with the first occasion, pick out a *few choice instances*, and let them take their chance in the ensuing papers. I have likewise, in my cabinet, certain quires of paper filled with facts of corruption, mismanagement, cowardice, treachery, avarice, ambition, and the like ; with an alphabetical table, to save trouble. And perhaps you will not wonder at the care I take to be so well provided, when you consider the vast expence I am at. I feed weekly two or three *wit-starved* writers, who have no other visible support ; besides several others, who live upon my offals. In short, I am like a nurse,
who

who suckles twins at one time; and hath besides *one or two whelps* constantly to draw her breasts.

I must needs confess (and it is with grief I speak it), that I have been the innocent cause of a great circulation of dulness: at the same time I have often wondered, how it hath come to pass, that these industrious people, after poring so constantly upon the *Examiner*, a paper writ with plain sense and in a tolerable style, have made so little improvement. I am sure, it would have fallen out quite otherwise with me: for by what I have seen of their performances (and I am credibly informed, they are all of a piece), if I had perused them until now, I should have been fit for little, but to make an advocate in the same cause.

You, sir, perhaps, will wonder, as most others do, what end these angry folks propose in writing perpetually against the *Examiner*: it is not to begot a better opinion of the late ministry, or with any hope to convince the world, that I am in the wrong in any one fact I relate. They know all that to be lost labour, and yet their design is important enough: they would fain provoke me, by all sorts of methods within the length of their capacity, to answer their papers; which would render mine wholly useless to the publick: for if it once came to rejoinder and reply, we should be all upon a level; and then their work would be done.

There is one gentleman [*b*] indeed, who hath written three small pamphlets upon the *management*

[*b*] Dr. Hare, afterwards bishop of *Chichester*.

of the war, and the treaty of peace. These I had intended to have bestowed a paper in *examining*; and could easily have made it appear, that whatever he says of truth, relates not at all to the evils we complain of, or controuls one syllable of what I have ever advanced. No body that I know of, did ever dispute the duke of *Marlbrough's* courage, conduct, or success; they have been always unquestionable, and will continue to be so in spite of the malice of his enemies, or, which is yet more, the *weakness of his advocates*. The nation only wishes to see him taken out of ill hands, and put into better. But what is all this to the conduct of the late ministry, the shameful mismanagements in *Spain*, or the wrong steps in the treaty of peace; the secret of which will not bear the light, and is, consequently, by this author, very poorly defended? These, and many other things, I would have shewn; but, upon second thoughts, determined to have it done in a discourse by itself, rather than take up room here, and break into the design of this paper, from whence I have resolved to banish controversy as much as possible. But the postscript to his third pamphlet was enough to disgust me from having any dealings at all with such a writer; unless that part was left to some *footman* he had picked up among the boys who follow the camp, whose character it would suit much better than that of the supposed author: at least, the foul language, the idle, impotent menaces, and the gross perverting of an innocent expression

in

in the fourth *Examiner*, joined to that respect I shall ever have for the function of a *divine*, would incline me to believe so. But when he turns off his *footman*, and disclaims that postscript, I will tear it out, and see how far the rest deserves to be considered.

But, sir, I labour under a much greater difficulty, upon which I should be glad to hear your advice. I am worried on one side by the *whigs* for being too *severe*; and by the *tories* on the other for being too *gentle*. I have formerly hinted a complaint of this; but having lately received two peculiar letters, among many others, I thought nothing could better represent my condition, or the opinion which the warm men of both sides have of my conduct, than to send you a transcript of each. The former is exactly in these words :

“ To the *Examiner*.

Mr. EXAMINER,

“ BY your continual reflecting upon the con-
 “ duct of the late ministry, and by your en-
 “ comiums on the present, it is *as clear as the sun*
 “ *at noon-day*, that you are a *jesuit* or *nonjuror*,
 “ employed by the friends of the *pretender* to en-
 “ deavour to introduce *popery* and *slavery*, and ar-
 “ bitrary power, and to infringe the *sacred* act for
 “ *toleration of dissenters*. Now, sir, since *the most*
 “ *ingenious authors*, who write weekly against you,
 “ are not able to teach you better manners, I
 “ would

“ would have you to know, that those great and
 “ excellent men, as low as you think them at
 “ present, do not want friends that will take the
 “ first proper occasion to *cut your throat*, as all such
 “ enemies to moderation ought to be served. It
 “ is well you have cleared another person from
 “ being author of your cursed libels; although
 “ d—mn me, perhaps after all, that may be a
 “ *bamboozle* too. However, I hope we shall soon
 “ ferret you out. Therefore I advise you as a
 “ friend to let fall your pen, and retire betimes:
 “ for our patience is now at an end. It is enough
 “ to lose our power and employments, without
 “ setting the whole nation against us. Consider,
 “ three years is the life of a *party*; d—mn me,
 “ *every dog bath his day*, and it will be our turn
 “ next; therefore take warning, and learn to *sleep*
 “ *in a whole skin*; or, whenever we are uppermost,
 “ by G—d you shall find no mercy.”

The other letter was in the following terms:

“ To the *Examiner*.

“ S I R,

“ I AM a *country member*, and constantly send
 “ a dozen of your papers down to my *electors*.
 “ I have read them all, but, I confess, not with
 “ the satisfaction I expected. It is plain you know
 “ a great deal more than you write: why will
 “ you not let us have it all out? We are told,
 “ that

“ that the QUEEN hath been a long time treated
 “ with insolence by those, she hath most obliged.
 “ Pray, sir, let us have a few good stories upon
 “ that head. We have been cheated of several
 “ millions; why will not you set a mark on the
 “ knaves who are guilty, and shew us what ways
 “ they took to rob the publick at such a rate? In-
 “ form us, how we came to be disappointed of
 “ peace about two years ago. In short, turn the
 “ whole mystery of iniquity inside out, that every
 “ body may have a view of it. But above all,
 “ explain to us, what was the bottom of that same
 “ *impeachment*: I am sure I never liked it; for, at
 “ that very time, a *dissenting* preacher in our
 “ neighbourhood came often to see our parson; it
 “ could be for no good; for he would walk about
 “ the barns and the stables, and desired to look
 “ into the church, as *who should say, These will*
 “ *shortly be mine*: and we all believed, he was
 “ then contriving some alterations, against he got
 “ into possession. And I shall never forget that a
 “ *whig justice* offered me then very high for my
 “ bishop’s lease. I must be so bold to tell you,
 “ sir, that you are too favourable: I am sure,
 “ there was no living in quiet for us, while they
 “ were in the *saddle*. I was turned out of the
 “ commission, and called a *jacobite*, although it
 “ cost me a thousand pounds in joining with the
 “ prince of *Orange* at the *revolution*. The disco-
 “ veries I would have you make, are of some
 “ facts, for which they ought to be hanged; not
 “ that

“ that I value their heads, but I would see them
 “ exposed, which may be done upon the *owner's*
 “ *shoulders* as well as upon a *pole*,” &c.

These, sir, are the sentiments of a whole party on one side, and of considerable numbers on the other : however, taking the *medium* between these extremes, I think to go on as I have hitherto done, although I am sensible my paper would be more popular, if I did not lean too much to the favourable side. For nothing delights the people more, than to see their oppressors humbled, and all their actions painted with proper colours, set out in open view, *exaltos tyrannos densum humeris bibit aure vulgus*.

But as for the *whigs*, I am in some doubt, whether this mighty concern they shew for the honour of the late ministry, may not be affected ; at least, whether their masters will thank them for their zeal in such a cause. It is, I think, a known story of a gentleman, who fought another for calling him *son of a whore* ; that the lady desired her son to make no more quarrels upon that subject, *because it was true*. For pray, sir, doth it not look like a jest, that such a pernicious crew, after draining our wealth, and discovering the most destructive designs against our church and state, instead of thanking fortune that they are got off safe in their persons and plunder, should hire these bullies of the pen, to defend their reputations ? I remember, I thought it the hardest case in the world,

world, when a poor acquaintance of mine having fallen in among sharpers, where he lost all his money, and then complaining he was cheated, got a good beating into the bargain *for offering to affront gentlemen*. I believe the only reason, why these purloiners of the public, cause such a clutter to be made about their reputations, is to prevent inquisitions that might tend towards making them refund: like those women they call *shop-lifters*, who, when they are challenged for their thefts, appear to be mighty angry and affronted, for fear of being searched.

I will dismiss you, sir, when I have taken notice of one particular. Perhaps you may have observed, in the tolerated factious papers of the week, that the earl of *Rochester* is frequently reflected on for having been *ecclesiastical commissioner*, and *lord treasurer*, in the reign of the late king *James*. The fact is true; and it will not be denied, to his immortal honour, that, because he could not comply with the measures then taking, he resigned both those employments; of which the latter was immediately supplied by a commission, composed of two popish lords, and the present earl of *Godolphin*.

NUMBER XXIX.

THURSDAY, February 22, 1710-11.

Laus summa in fortunæ bonis, non extulisse se in potestate, non fuisse insolentem in pecunia, non se prætulisse aliis præpter abundantiam fortunæ.

I AM conscious to myself, that I write this paper with no other intention but that of doing good. I never received injury from the late ministry; nor advantage from the present, farther than in common with every good subject. There were, among the former, one or two, who must be allowed to have possessed very valuable qualities; but, proceeding by a system of politicks which our constitution could not suffer, and discovering a contempt of all religion, especially of that which hath been so happily established among us ever since the reformation; they seem to have been justly suspected of no very good inclinations to either.

It is possible, that a man may, speculatively, prefer the constitution of another country, or an *Utopia* of his own, before that of the nation where he is born and lives; yet, from considering the dangers of innovation, the corruptions of mankind, and the frequent impossibility of reducing ideas to practice, he may join heartily in preserving the present order of things, and be a true friend
to

to the government already settled. So in religion, a man may perhaps have little or none of it at heart; yet, if he conceals his opinions, if he endeavours to make no profelytes, advances no impious tenets in writing or discourse; if, according to the common atheistical notion, he believes religion to be only a contrivance of politicians for keeping the vulgar in awe; and that the present model is better adjusted than any other to so useful an end; although the condition of such a man, as to his own future state, be very deplorable; yet Providence, which often works good out of evil, can make even such a man an instrument for contributing towards the preservation of the church.

On the other side; I take a state to be truly in danger, both as to its religion and government, when a set of ambitious politicians, bred up in a hatred to the constitution, and a contempt for all religion, are forced upon exerting these qualities in order to keep or increase their power by widening their bottom, and taking in (like *Mahomet*) some principles from every party, that is in any way discontented at the present faith and settlement; which was manifestly our case. Upon this occasion, I remember to have asked some considerable *whigs*, whether it did not bring a disreputation upon their body, to have the whole herd of presbyterians, independents, atheists, anabaptists, deists, quakers, and *socinians* openly and universally listed under their banners? They answered, that all this was absolutely necessary in order to make a balance

against the *tories*; and all little enough; for indeed, it was as much as they could possibly do, although assisted with the absolute power of disposing of every employment; while the bulk of the *English* gentry kept firm to their old principles in church and state.

But, notwithstanding what I have hitherto said, I am informed, several among the *whigs* continue still so refractory, that they will hardly allow the heads of their party to have entertained any designs of ruining the constitution; or that they would have endeavoured it, if they had continued in power. I beg their pardon, if I have discovered a secret; but who could imagine they ever intended it should be one, after those *overt-acts*, with which they thought fit to conclude their *farce*? But perhaps they *now* find it convenient to deny vigorously; that the question may remain, *why was the old ministry changed*, which they urge on without ceasing, as if no occasion in the least had been given; but that all were owing to the insinuations of crafty men, practising upon the weakness of an easy prince: I shall therefore offer, among an hundred, one reason for this change, which I think would justify any monarch, whoever reigned, for the like proceeding.

It is notorious enough, how highly princes have been blamed, in the histories of all countries, particularly of our own, upon the account of their *minions*, who have been ever justly odious to the people for their insolence and avarice, and engros-

sing

sing the favours of their masters. Whoever hath been the least conversant in the *English* story, cannot but have heard of *Gaveston*, the *Spencers*, and some others; who, by the excess and abuse of their power, cost the princes they served, or rather governed, their crowns and lives. However, in the case of *minions*, it must at least be acknowledged, that the prince is pleased and happy, although his subjects be aggrieved; and he has the plea of friendship to excuse him, which is a disposition of generous minds. Besides, a wise *minion*, although he be haughty to others, is humble and insinuating to his master, and cultivates his favour by obedience and respect. But *our* misfortune hath been a great deal worse; we have suffered, for some years, under the oppression, the avarice, and insolence of those, for whom the QUEEN had neither esteem nor friendship; who rather seemed to snatch their own dues, than receive the favour of their sovereign; and were so far from returning respect, that they forgot common good-manners. They imposed on their prince, by urging the *necessity of affairs* of their own creating: they first raised difficulties, and then offered them as arguments to keep themselves in power. They united themselves, against nature and principle, to a party they had always abhorred, and which was now content to come in upon any terms, leaving them and their creatures in full possession of the court: then they urged the formidable strength of that party, and the dangers which must follow by disobliging it.

So that it seems almost a miracle, how a princess thus besieged on all sides could *alone* have courage and prudence enough to extricate herself.

And indeed there is a point of history relating to this matter, which well deserveth to be considered. When her majesty came to the crown, she took into favour and employment several persons, who were esteemed the best friends of the old constitution; among whom none were reckoned farther gone in the *high-church* principles (as they are usually called) than two or three who had at that time most credit; and ever since, until within these few months, possessed all power at court. So that the first umbrage given to the *whigs*, and the pretences for clamouring against *France* and the *pretender*, were derived from them. And I believe, nothing appeared then more unlikely, than that such different opinions should incorporate; that party having, upon former occasions, treated those very persons with enmity enough. But some lords then about court, and in the *QUEEN's* good graces, not able to endure those growing impositions upon the prince and people, presumed to interpose; and were consequently soon removed and disgraced. However, when a most exorbitant grant was proposed, antecedent to any visible merit, it miscarried in parliament, for want of being seconded by those, who had most credit in the house; and who, having always opposed the like excesses in a former reign, thought it their duty to do so still, to shew the world, that the dislike was not
against

against persons, but things. But this was to cross the *oligarchy* in the tenderest point; a point which outweighed all considerations of duty and gratitude to the prince, or regard to the constitution: and therefore, after having, in several private meetings, concerted measures with their old enemies, and granted as well as received conditions; they began to change their style and their countenance, and to put it as a maxim in the mouths of their emissaries, that *England must be saved by whigs*. This unnatural league was afterwards cultivated by another incident, I mean the *act of security*, and the consequences of it, which every body knows; when (to use the words of my correspondent [c]) *the sovereign authority was parcelled out among the faction, and made the purchase of indemnity for an offending minister*. Thus the union of the two kingdoms improved that between the ministry and the *junta*, which was afterwards cemented by their mutual danger in that storm they so narrowly escaped about three years ago, but however was not quite perfected till prince *George's* [d] death; and then they went lovingly on together, both satisfied with their several shares, and at full liberty to gratify their predominant inclinations; the first, their avarice and ambition; the other, their models of innovation in church and state.

[c] Letter to the *Examiner*.

[d] Prince *George* of *Denmark*, husband to the queen.

Therefore, whoever thinks fit to revive that baffled question, *why was the late ministry changed*, may receive the following answer; that it was become necessary by the insolence and avarice of some about the QUEEN, who, in order to perpetuate their tyranny, had made a monstrous alliance with those, who profess principles destructive to our religion and government. If this will not suffice; let him make an abstract of all the abuses I have mentioned in my former papers, and view them together; after which, if he still remain unsatisfied, let him suspend his opinion a few weeks longer. Although, after all, I think the question as trifling as that of the papists, when they ask us, *where was our religion before Luther?* And indeed the ministry was changed for the same reasons that religion was reformed; because a thousand corruptions had crept into the *discipline* and *doctrine* of the *state* by the pride, the avarice, the fraud, and the ambition of those, *who administered to us in secular affairs.*

I heard myself censured the other day in a coffee-house for seeming to glance, in the letter to *Craffus*, against a great man, who is still in employment, and likely to continue so. What if I had really intended that such an application should be given it? I cannot perceive how I could be justly blamed for so gentle a reproof. If I saw a handsome young fellow going to a ball at court with a great *smut* upon his face; could he take it ill in me to point out the place, and desire him, with abundance of
good

good words, to pull out his handkerchief and wipe it off: or bring him to a glass, where he might plainly see it with his own eyes? Doth any man think I shall suffer my pen to inveigh against vices, only because they are charged upon persons, who are no longer in power? Every body knows, that certain vices are more or less pernicious according to the stations of those, who possess them. For example, lewdness and intemperance are not of so bad consequences in a town-rake, as in a divine; cowardice in a lawyer is more supportable, than in an officer of the army. If I should find fault with an admiral, because he wanted *politeness*; or an alderman, for not understanding *Greek*; that indeed would be to go out of the way for occasion of quarrelling. But excessive avarice in a general is, I think, the greatest defect he can be liable to, next to the want of courage and conduct, and may be attended with the most ruinous consequences, as it was in *Crassus*, who to that vice alone owed the destruction of himself and his army. It is the same thing in praising men's excellencies; which are more or less valuable, as the person who commends had occasion to employ them. A man may perhaps mean honestly; yet, if he be not able to spell, he shall never have my vote to be secretary. Another may have wit and learning in a post where honesty with plain common sense are of much more use. You may praise a soldier for his skill at *chess*, because it is said to be a military game,

and

and the emblem of drawing up an army; but this to a treasurer would be no more a compliment, than if you called him a *gamester*, or a *jockey*.

P. S. I have received a letter relating to Mr. *Greenfields*; the person that sent it may know, that I will say something to it in the next paper.

NUMBER XXX.

THURSDAY, February 22, 1710-11.

Quæ enim domus tam stabilis, quæ tam firma civitas est, quæ non odiis atque diffidiis funditus possit everti?

IF we examine what societies of men are in closest union among themselves, we shall find them either to be those, who are engaged in some evil design, or who labour under one common misfortune. Thus the troops of *banditti* in several countries abroad, the knots of *highwaymen* in our nation, the several tribes of *sharpers*, *thieves*, and *pick-pockets*, with many others, are so firmly knit together, that nothing is more difficult than to break or dissolve their several *gangs*: so likewise those, who are fellow-sufferers under any misfortune, whether it be in reality or opinion, are usually contracted into a very strict union; as we may observe in the *papists* throughout this kingdom, under those real difficulties, which are justly put on them; and in the several schisms of *presbyterians*, and other sects, under that grievous persecution of the modern kind, called *want of power*. And the reason why such confederacies are kept so sacred and inviolable, is very plain; because, in each of those cases I have mentioned, the whole body is moved by one spirit in pursuit of one general

ral end, and the interest of individuals is not crossed by each other, or by the whole.

Now both these motives are joined to unite the *high flying whigs* at present: they have been always engaged in an *evil design*, and of late they are faster rivetted by that terrible calamity, the loss of power. So that whatever design a mischievous crew of dark confederates may possibly entertain, who will stop at no means to compass them, may be justly apprehended from these.

On the other side, those who wish well to the publick, and would gladly contribute to its service, are apt to differ in their opinions about the methods of promoting it; and when their party flourishes, are sometimes envious at those in power; ready to over-value their own merit, and be impatient until it be rewarded by the measure they have prescribed for themselves. There is a farther topick of contention, which a ruling party is apt to fall into in relation to *retrospections*, and enquiry into past miscarriages; wherein *some* are thought too warm and zealous, *others* too cool and remiss; while, in the mean time, these divisions are industriously fomented by the discarded faction; which, although it be an old practice, hath been much improved in the schools of the *jesuits*, who, when they despaired of perverting this nation to *popery* by arguments or plots against the state, sent their emissaries to subdivide us into schisms. And this expedient is now with great propriety taken up by our men of *incensed moderation*; because they
suppose

suppose themselves able to attack the strongest of our subdivisions, and so subdue us one after another. Nothing better resembles this proceeding, than that famous combat between the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*; where two of the former being killed, the third, who remained entire and untouched, was able to kill his three wounded adversaries, after he had divided them by a stratagem. I well know with how tender a hand all this should be touched; yet, at the same time, I think it my duty to *warn* the friends, as well as *expose* the enemies, of the public weal; and to begin preaching up *union* upon the first suspicion, that any steps are made to disturb it.

But the two chief subjects of discontent, which, upon most great changes in the management of public affairs, are apt to breed differences among those who are in possession, are what I have just now mentioned; a desire of punishing the corruption of former managers; and the rewarding *merit* among those who have been any way instrumental or consenting to the change. The first of these is a point so nice, that I shall purposely wave it; but the latter I take to fall properly within my district. By *merit*, I here understand that value, which every man puts upon his own deservings from the publick. And I believe, there could not be a more difficult employment found out, than that of *pay-master-general* to this sort of *merit*; or a more noisy, crowded place, than a court of *judicature* erected to settle and adjust every man's claim

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upon

upon that article. I imagine, if this had fallen into the fancy of the ancient poets, they would have dressed it up after their manner into an agreeable fiction; and given us a genealogy and description of *merit*, perhaps not very different from that which follows.

A poetical genealogy and description of MERIT.

“ THAT *true Merit* was the son of *Virtue* and
 “ *Honour*; but that there was likewise a spurious
 “ child, who usurped the name, and whose pa-
 “ rents were *Vanity* and *Impudence*. That, at a
 “ distance, there was a great resemblance between
 “ them, and they were often mistaken for each
 “ other. That the *bastard issue* had a *loud shrill*
 “ *voice*, which was perpetually employed in *crav-*
 “ *ings* and *complaints*; while the other never spoke
 “ louder than a *whisper*, and was often so bashful,
 “ that he could not speak at all. That in all
 “ great assemblies the *false Merit* would step be-
 “ fore the *true*, and stand just in his way; was
 “ constantly at court, or great men’s *levees*, or
 “ whispering in some minister’s ear. That the
 “ more you fed him, the more hungry and im-
 “ portunate he grew. That he often passed for
 “ the true son of *Virtue* and *Honour*, and the ge-
 “ nuine for an impostor. That he was born dis-
 “ torted and a dwarf, but by force of art appeared
 “ of a handsome shape, and taller than the usual
 “ size; and that none but those, who were wise
 “ and good as well as vigilant, could discover his
 “ little-

“ littleness or deformity. That the *true Merit*
 “ had been often forced to the indignity of apply-
 “ ing to the *false* for his credit with those in
 “ power, and to keep himself from starving.
 “ That *false Merit* filled the *anti-chambers* with a
 “ crew of his dependents and creatures, such as
 “ *projectors, schematists, occasional converts to a party,*
 “ *prostitute flatterers, starveling writers, buffoons,*
 “ *shallow politicians, empty orators,* and the like;
 “ who all owned him for their patron, and grew
 “ discontented, if they were not immediately fed.”

This metaphorical description of *false Merit* is,
 I doubt, calculated for most countries in Christen-
 dom; and as to our own, I believe it may be said,
 with a sufficient reserve of charity, that we are
 fully able to reward every man among us accord-
 ing to his real deservings: and I think, I may
 add, without suspicion of flattery, that never any
 prince had a ministry with a better judgment to
 distinguish between *false* and *real merit*, than that
 which is now at the helm; or whose inclination,
 as well as interest, was greater to encourage the
 latter. And it ought to be observed, that those
 great and excellent persons we see at the head of
 affairs, are of the queen's *own, personal, voluntary*
choice; not forced upon her by any *insolent, over-*
grown favourite, or by the pretended necessity of
 complying with an *unruly faction*.

Yet these are the persons, whom those scandals
 to the press, in their daily pamphlets and papers,
 5 openly

openly revile at so ignominious a rate, as I believe was never tolerated before under any government. For surely no lawful power, derived from a prince, should be so far affronted, as to leave those who are in authority exposed to every scurrilous libeller: because in this point I make a mighty difference between those who are *in*, and those who are *out*, of power; not upon any regard to their persons, but the stations they are placed in by the sovereign. And if my distinction be right, I think I might appeal to any man, whether, if a stranger were to read the invectives which are daily published against the present ministry, and the outrageous fury of the authors against me for censuring the last, he would not conclude the *whigs* to be at this time in full possession of power and favour, and the *tories* entirely at mercy. But all this now ceases to be a wonder, since the queen herself is no longer spared; witness the libel published some days ago under the title of *A letter to sir Jacob Banks*, where the reflexions upon her sacred majesty are much more plain and direct, than ever the *Examiner* thought fit to publish against the most obnoxious persons in a *ministry* discarded for endeavouring the ruin of their prince and country. *Cæsar* indeed threatened to hang the *pirates* for presuming to disturb him, while he was their prisoner aboard their ship. But it was *Cæsar* who did so, and he did it to a crew of *public robbers*; and it became the greatness of his spirit, for he lived to execute what he had threatened. Had *they*
been

been in his power, and sent such a message, it could be imputed to nothing but the extremes of impudence, folly, or madness.

I had a letter last week relating to Mr. *Greenshields*, an *episcopal* clergyman of *Scotland*; and the writer seems to be a gentleman of that part of *Britain*. I remember formerly to have read a printed account of Mr. *Greenshields's* case, who has been prosecuted, and silenced, for no reason besides reading divine service after the manner of the church of *England* to his own congregation, who desired it; though, as the gentleman who writes to me says, there is no law in *Scotland* against those meetings; and he adds, that the sentence pronounced against Mr. *Greenshields* will soon be affirmed, if some care be not taken to prevent it. I am altogether uninformed in the particulars of this case, and besides, to treat it justly, would not come within the compass of my paper; therefore I could wish the gentleman would undertake it in a discourse by itself; and I should be glad he would inform the publick in one fact; whether *episcopal* assemblies are freely allowed in *Scotland*? It is notorious, that abundance of their clergy fled from thence some years ago into *England* and *Ireland*, as from a persecution; but it was alledged by their enemies, that they refused to take the oaths to the government, which however none of them scrupled when they came among us. It is somewhat extraordinary to see our *whigs* and *fanaticks* keep such a stir about the sacred act of toleration,

while their *brethren* will not allow a connivance in so near a neighbourhood; especially if what the gentleman insists on in his letter be true, that nine parts in ten of the nobility and gentry, and two in three of the commons, are *episcopal*; of which one argument he offereth is the present choice of their representatives in both houses, though opposed to the utmost by the *preachings*, *threatenings*, and *anathemas* of the *kirk*. Such usage to a majority may, as he thinks, be of dangerous consequence; and I entirely agree with him. If these be the principles of the *high-kirk*, God preserve, at least, the southern parts from their tyranny.

NUMBER XXXI.

THURSDAY, March 8, 1710-11.

Garrat aniles
Ex re fabellas.

I HAD last week sent me, by an unknown hand, a passage out of *Plato*, with some hints how to apply it. That author puts a fable into the mouth of *Aristophanes*, with an account of the original of *love*: that mankind was at first created with four arms and legs, and all other parts double to what they are now; till *Jupiter*, as a punishment of his sins, cleft him in two with a thunderbolt; since which time we are always looking for our other half; and this is the cause of *love*. But *Jupiter* threatened, that if they did not mend their manners, he would give them the other slit, and leave them to hop about in the shape of figures in *basso relievo*. The effect of this last threatening, my correspondent imagines, is now come to pass; and that as the first *splitting* was the original of *love*, by inclining us to search for our other half; so the second was the cause of *hatred*, by prompting us to fly from our *other side*; and dividing the same *body* into two, he gave each slice the name of a *party*.

I approve the fable and application, with this refinement upon it: for *parties* do not only split a

nation, but every individual among them, leaving each but half their strength, and wit, and honesty, and good-nature ; but one eye and ear for their sight and hearing, and equally lopping the rest of the senses. Where *parties* are pretty equal in a state, no man can perceive one bad quality in his own, or good one in his adversaries. Besides, *party* being a dry, disagreeable subject, it renders conversation insipid or sour, and confines invention. I speak not here of the leaders, but the insignificant crowd of followers in a party, who have been the instruments of mixing it in every condition and circumstance of life. As the zealots among the *Jews* bound the law about their foreheads, and wrists, and hems of their garments ; so the women among us have got the distinguishing marks of *party* in their muffs, their fans, and their furbelows. The *whig* ladies put on their patches in a different manner from the *tories*. They have made *schisms* in the *play-house*, and each have their particular sides at the *opera* : and when a man changeth his *party*, he must infallibly count upon the loss of his mistress. I asked a gentleman the other day how he liked such a lady ? But he would not give me his opinion, till I had answered him whether she were a *whig* or a *tory*. Mr. ———, since he is known to visit the present ministry, and lay some time under a suspicion of writing the *Examiner*, is no longer a man of *wit* ; his very *poems* have contracted a stupidity, many years after they were printed.

Having lately ventured upon a metaphorical genealogy of *merit*, I thought it would be proper to add another of *party*, or rather of *faction* (to avoid mistake), not telling the reader whether it be my own, or a quotation, till I know how it is approved. But whether I read, or dreamed it, the fable is as follows :

“ LIBERTY, the daughter of *Oppression*,
 “ after having brought forth several fair children,
 “ as *Riches*, *Arts*, *Learning*, *Trade*, and many
 “ others, was at last delivered of her youngest
 “ daughter, called FACTION, whom *Juno*, doing
 “ the office of the midwife, distorted in its birth,
 “ out of envy to the mother, from whence it de-
 “ rived its *peevishness* and sickly constitution.
 “ However, as it is often the nature of parents
 “ to grow most fond of their youngest and dis-
 “ agreeablest children, so it happened with *Liber-*
 “ *ty*, who doated on this daughter to such a de-
 “ gree, that by her good-will she would never
 “ suffer the girl to be out of her sight. As miss
 “ *Faction* grew up, she became so termagant and
 “ froward, that there was no enduring her any
 “ longer in *Heaven*. *Jupiter* gave her warning to
 “ be gone; and her mother, rather than forsake
 “ her, took the whole family down to *earth*. She
 “ landed first in *Greece*; was expelled by degrees
 “ through all the cities by her daughter’s ill con-
 “ duct: fled afterwards to *Italy*, and being ba-
 “ nished thence, took shelter among the *Goths*,

“ with whom she passed into most parts of *Eu-*
 “ *rope*; but, being driven out every where, she
 “ began to lose esteem, and her daughter’s faults
 “ were imputed to herself: so that at this time
 “ she has hardly a place in the world to retire to.
 “ One would wonder what strange qualities this
 “ daughter must possess, sufficient to blast the in-
 “ fluence of so divine a mother, and the rest of
 “ her children. She always affected to keep mean
 “ and scandalous company; valuing nobody, but
 “ just as they agreed with her in every capricious
 “ opinion she thought fit to take up; and rigor-
 “ ously exacting compliance, though she changed
 “ her sentiments ever so often. Her great em-
 “ ployment was to breed *discord* among friends and
 “ relations, and make up monstrous alliances be-
 “ tween those, whose dispositions least resembled
 “ each other. Whoever offered to contradict her,
 “ though in the most insignificant trifle, she would
 “ be sure to distinguish by some ignominious *ap-*
 “ *pellation*, and allow them to have neither ho-
 “ nour, wit, beauty, learning, honesty, or com-
 “ mon sense. She intruded into all companies at
 “ the most unseasonable times; mixed at balls,
 “ assemblies, and other parties of pleasure; haunt-
 “ ing every *coffee-house* and *bookseller’s shop*, and by
 “ her perpetual talking filled all places with dis-
 “ turbance and confusion: she buzzed about the
 “ *merchant* in the *Exchange*, the *divine* in his *pulpit*,
 “ and the *shopkeeper* behind his *counter*. Above
 “ all, she frequented *public assemblies*, where she

“ sat in the shape of an *obscene ominous bird*, ready
 “ to prompt her *friends* as they spoke.”

If I understand this fable of FACTION right, it ought to be applied to those, who set themselves up against the true interest and constitution of their country; which I wish the undertakers for the late ministry would please to take notice of, or tell us by what figure of speech they pretend to call so great and unforced a majority, with the queen at *their* head, by the name of *the faction*; which is not unlike the phrase of the *nonjurors*, who, dignifying one or two deprived bishops, and half a score clergymen of the same stamp, with the title of the *church of England*, exclude all the rest as *schismatics*; or like the *presbyterians* laying the same accusation, with equal justice, against the established religion.

And here it may be worth enquiring, what are the true characteristics of a *faction*; or how it is to be distinguished from that great body of the people, who are friends to the constitution? The heads of a *faction* are usually a set of upstarts, or men ruined in their fortunes, whom some great change in a government did, at first, out of their obscurity, produce upon the stage. They associate themselves with those who dislike the old establishment, religious and civil. They are full of new schemes in politicks and divinity; they have an incurable hatred against the old nobility, and strengthen their party by dependants raised from

the lowest of the people. They have several ways of working themselves into power; but they are sure to be called, when a corrupt administration wants to be supported against those who are endeavouring at a reformation; and they firmly observe that celebrated maxim of preserving *power* by the same arts, by which it is attained. They act with the spirit of those, who believe their time is but short; and their first care is to heap up immense riches at the public expence; in which they have two ends, besides that common one of insatiable avarice, which are, to make themselves necessary, and to keep the commonwealth in dependence. Thus they hope to compass their design, which is, instead of fitting their principles to the constitution, to alter and adjust the constitution to their own pernicious principles.

It is easy determining, by this test, to which side the name of *faction* most properly belongs. But however, I will give them any system of law or regal government, from *William the conqueror* to this present time, to try whether they can tally it with their late models; excepting only that of *Cromwell*, whom perhaps they will reckon for a monarch.

If the present ministry, and so great a majority in the parliament and kingdom, be only a *faction*, it must appear by some actions, which answer the idea we usually conceive from that word. Have they abused the prerogative of the prince, or invaded the rights and liberties of the subject? Have they offered at any dangerous innovations in
church

church or state? Have they broached any doctrine or heresy, rebellion or tyranny? Have any of them treated their sovereign with insolence, engrossed and sold all her favours, or deceived her by base, gross misrepresentations of her most faithful servants? These are the arts of a *faction*; and whoever hath practised them, they and their followers must take up with the name.

It is usually reckoned a *whig* principle to appeal to the people; but that is only when they have been so wise as to poison their understandings beforehand. Will they now stand to this appeal, and be determined by their *vox populi*, to which side their title of *faction* belongs? And that the people are now left to the natural freedom of their understanding and choice, I believe our adversaries will hardly deny. They will now refuse this appeal, and it is reasonable they should; and I will farther add, that, if our people resembled the old *Grecians*, there might be danger in such a trial. A pragmatical orator told a great man at *Athens*, that, whenever the people were in their rage, they would certainly tear him to pieces; Yes, says the other, and they will do the same to you, whenever they are in their wits. But, God be thanked, our populace is more merciful in their nature, and at present under better direction; and the orators among us have attempted to confound both prerogative and law in their sovereign's presence, and before the highest court of judicature, without any hazard to their persons.

NUMBER XXXII.

THURSDAY, March 15, 1710-11.

Non est ea medicina, cum sanæ parti corporis scalpellum adhibetur, atque integræ; carnificina est ista, et crudelitas. Hi medentur reipublicæ, qui excruciant pestem aliquam, tanquam firumam civitatis.

I AM diverted from the general subject of my discourses, to reflect upon an event of a very extraordinary and surprizing nature. A great minister, in high confidence with the QUEEN, under whose management the weight of affairs at present is in a great measure supposed to lie; sitting in council, in a royal palace, with a dozen of the chief officers of the state, is stabbed at the very board, in the execution of his office, by the hand of a *French papist* [e], then under examination for high-treason; the assassin redoubles his blow, to make sure work; and concluding the chancel-

[e] The abbot *de Bourlie*, who, having quitted his native country, solicited to be employed against it in several courts of *Europe*, and assumed the title of *marquis de Guiscard*. He at length obtained a commission from queen *Anne*, and embarked in an expedition against *France*, which miscarried; and his expectations being disappointed by the new ministry, he endeavoured to make his peace at home by acting here as a spy, and commenced a treasonable correspondence: his letters were intercepted, and produced to him by Mr. *Harley* at his examination.

lor

lor [f] was dispatched, goes on with the same rage to murder a principal secretary of state [g]: and that the whole noble assembly are forced to rise and draw their swords in their own defence, as if a wild beast had been let loose among them.

This fact hath some circumstances of aggravation, not to be paralleled by any of the like kind we meet with in history. *Cæsar's* murder being performed in the senate comes nearest to the case; but that was an affair concerted by great numbers of the chief senators, who were likewise the actors in it; and not the work of a vile single ruffian. *Henry* the third of *France* was stabbed by an enthusiastic friar, whom he suffered to approach his person, while those that attended him stood at some distance. His successor met the same fate in a coach, where neither he nor his nobles, in such a confinement, were able to defend themselves. In our country, we have I think, but one instance of this sort, which has made any noise; I mean that of *Felton* about fourscore years ago; but he took the opportunity to stab the duke of *Buckingham* in passing through a dark lobby from one room to another. The blow was neither seen nor heard; and the murderer might have escaped, if his own concern and horror, as it is usual in such cases, had not betrayed him. Besides, that act of *Felton* will admit of some extenuation from the motives

[f] Mr. *Harley*, then chancellor of the exchequer, afterwards earl of *Oxford*.

[g] Mr. *Henry St. John*, afterwards lord *Bolingbroke*.

he is said to have had : but this attempt of *Guiscard* seems to have outdone them all in every heightening circumstance, except the difference of persons between a king and a great minister ; for I give no allowance at all to the difference of success (which, however, is yet uncertain and depending) nor think it the least alleviation to the crime, whatever it may be to the punishment.

I am sensible, it is ill arguing from particulars to generals, and that we ought not to charge upon a nation the crimes of a few desperate villains it is so unfortunate to produce ; yet at the same time it must be avowed, that the *French* have, for these last centuries, been somewhat too liberal of their daggers upon the persons of their greatest men ; such as the admiral *de Coligny*, the dukes of *Guise* father and son, and the two kings I last mentioned. I have sometimes wondered how a people, whose genius seems wholly turned to singing, and dancing, and prating, to vanity and impertinence ; who lay so much weight upon modes and gestures ; whose essentialities are generally so very superficial ; who are usually so serious upon trifles, and so trifling upon what is serious, have been capable of committing such solid villainies, more suitable to the gravity of a *Spaniard*, or the silence and thoughtfulness of an *Italian* : unless it be, that, in a nation naturally so full of themselves, and of so restless imaginations, when any of them happen to be of a morose and gloomy constitution, that buddle of confused thoughts, for want of evaporating,

ing, usually terminates in rage and despair. *D'Avila* observes, that *Jacques Clement* [b] was a sort of buffoon, whom the rest of the friars used to make sport with; but at last giving his folly a serious turn, it ended in enthusiasm, and qualified him for that desperate act of murdering his king.

But, in the marquis *de Guiscard*, there seems to have been a complication of ingredients for such an attempt. He had committed several enormities in *France*, was extremely prodigal and vicious, of a dark melancholy complexion and cloudy countenance, such as in vulgar physiognomy is called an *ill look*. For the rest, his talents were very mean, having a sort of inferior cunning, but very small abilities; so that a great man of the late ministry, by whom he was invited over, and, with much discretion, raised at first step from a profligate *popish priest* to a lieutenant general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was at last forced to drop him for shame.

Had such an accident happened under that ministry, and to so considerable a member of it, they would have immediately charged it upon the whole body of those they are pleased to call the *faction*. This would have been styled a *high-church principle*; the clergy would have been accused, as promoters and abettors of the fact; committees would have been sent to promise the criminal his life, provided they might have liberty to direct and dic-

[b] The monk who stabbed *Henry III.* of *France*,

tate his confession; and a *black list* would have been printed of all those who had been ever seen in the murderer's company. But the present men in power hate and despise all such detestable arts, which they might now turn upon their adversaries with much more plausibility, than ever these did their honourable negotiations with *Greg* [i].

And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons once in great power and a *French papist*; both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. *Harley's* life, though differing in their methods; the first proceeding by subornation, the other by violence; wherein *Guiscard* seems to have the ad-

[i] In the beginning of the year 1708, *William Greg*, an under clerk to Mr. secretary *Harley*, was detected in a correspondence with monsieur *Chamillard*, one of the *French king's* ministers, to whom he transmitted the proceedings of both houses of parliament with respect to the augmentation of the *British* forces, and other papers of great importance. *Greg*, when he was indicted for this treason, pleaded guilty, which gave occasion to Mr. *Harley's* enemies to insinuate, that he was privy to *Greg's* practices; and had, by assurances of pardon, prevailed upon him to plead guilty, in order to prevent the examination of witnesses: the house of lords appointed a committee of seven, of whom lord *Sunderland* was manager, to enquire into the affair. The committee presented an address to the queen, in which complaint was made, that all Mr. *Harley's* papers had been long exposed to the meanest clerks in his office; and it was requested, that more caution might be used for the future. Upon this address, the execution of *Greg* was deferred a month; during which time he was solicited, threatened, and promised; but still persisting to take the whole guilt upon himself, he was at length executed, having, in a paper which he left behind him, justified Mr. *Harley* in particular; which he would scarce have thought necessary, if no particular attempt had been made against him.

vantage,

vantage, as aiming no further than his life; while the others designed to destroy at once both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this gentleman seems to have arisen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the government. It was Mr. *Harley* who detected the treasonable correspondence of *Greg*, and secured him betimes; when a certain great man, who shall be be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. *Harley*: but when that was prevented, they would have enticed the condemned criminal, with promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the secretary: but, to use *Greg*'s own expression, *his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must be saved by prostituting his conscience*. The same gentleman now lies stabbed by his other enemy, a *papist spy*, whose treason he hath discovered. God preserve the rest of her majesty's ministers from such *protestants*, and from such *papists*!

I shall take occasion to hint at some particularities in this surprising fact, for the sake of those at a distance, or who may not be thoroughly informed. The murderer confessed in *Newgate*, that his chief design was against Mr. secretary *St. John*, who happened to change seats with Mr. *Harley*, for more convenience of examining the criminal: and being asked what provoked him to stab the chancellor, he said, that, not being able to come

at the secretary as he intended, it was some satisfaction to murder the person whom he thought Mr. *St. John* loved best [k].

And here if Mr. *Harley* hath still any enemies left, whom his blood spilt in the public service cannot reconcile, I hope they will at least admire his magnanimity, which is a quality esteemed even in an enemy: and I think there are few greater instances of it to be found in story. After the wound was given, he was observed neither to change his countenance, nor discover any concern or disorder in his speech. He rose up, and walked along the room, while he was able, with the greatest tranquillity, during the height of the confusion. When the surgeon came, he took him aside, and desired he would inform him freely whether the wound were mortal, because, in that case, he said, he had some affairs to settle relating to his family. The blade of the penknife, broken by the violence of the blow against a rib within a quarter of an inch of the handle, was dropt out (I know not whether from the wound, or his cloaths) as the surgeon was going to dress him: he ordered it to be taken up, and wiping it himself, gave it somebody to keep, saying, he thought *it now properly belonged to him*. He shewed no sort of resentment, nor spoke one violent word, against *Guiscard*; but appeared all the while the least con-

[k] How much he was mistaken appears by lord *Bolingbroke's* letter to sir *William Wyndham*.

cerned of any in the company. A state of mind, which, in such an exigency, nothing but innocence can give, and is truly worthy of a *christian* philosopher.

If there be really so great a difference in principle between the *high-flying whigs* and the friends of *France*, I cannot but repeat the question, how came they to join in the destruction of the same man? Can his death be possibly for the interest of both? or have they both the same quarrel against him, that he is perpetually discovering and preventing the treacherous designs of our enemies? However it be, this great minister may now say, with *St. Paul*, that he hath been *in perils by his own-countrymen, and in perils by strangers*.

In the midst of so melancholy a subject, I cannot but contratulate with our own country, that such a savage monster as the *marquis de Guiscard* is none of her production: a wretch, perhaps, more detestable in his own nature, than even this barbarous act has been yet able to represent him to the world. For there are good reasons to believe, from several circumstances, that he had intentions of a deeper dye than those he happened to execute; I mean, such as every good subject must tremble to think on. He hath of late been frequently seen going up the back-stairs at court, and walking alone in an outer room adjoining to her majesty's bed-chamber. He hath often and earnestly pressed, for some time, to have access to the queen, even since his correspondence with *France*.

And he has now given such a proof of his disposition, as leaves it easy to guess what was before in his thoughts, and what he was capable of attempting.

It is humbly to be hoped, that the legislature will interpose on so extraordinary an occasion as this, and direct a punishment [1] some way proportionable to so execrable a crime.

*Et quicumque tuum violavit vulnere corpus,
Morte luat merita.*

[1] An act was immediately passed, to make an attempt on the life of a privy counsellor, in the execution of his office, felony without benefit of clergy.

NUMBER XXXIII.

THURSDAY, March 22, 1710-11.

*De libertate retinenda, qua certe nihil est dulcius,
tibi assentior.*

THE *apologies* of the ancient fathers are reckoned to have been the most useful parts of their writings, and to have done greatest service to the christian religion; because they removed those misrepresentations which had done it most injury. The methods these writers took, were openly and freely to discover every point of their faith, to detect the falshood of their accusers, and to charge nothing upon their adversaries but what they were sure to make good. This example hath been ill followed of later times; the *papists*, since the Reformation, using all arts to palliate the absurdities of their tenets, and loading the reformers with a thousand calumnies; the consequence of which hath been only a more various, wide, and inveterate separation. It is the same thing in civil schisms: a *whig* forms an image of a *tory* just after the thing he most abhors, and that image serveth to represent the whole body.

I am not sensible of any material difference there is between those who call themselves the *old whigs*, and a great majority of the present *tories*, at least

by all I could ever find from examining several persons of each denomination. But it must be confessed, that the present body of *whigs*, as they now constitute that party, is a very odd mixture of mankind, being forced to enlarge their bottom, by taking every heterodox professor, either in religion or government, whose opinions they were obliged to encourage for fear of lessening their number; while the bulk of the landed men and people were entirely of the old sentiments. However, they still pretended a due regard to the *monarchy* and the *church*, even at the time when they were making the largest steps towards the ruin of both: but, not being able to wipe off the many accusations laid to their charge, they endeavoured, by throwing scandal, to make the *tories* appear blacker than themselves; that so the people might join with *them*, as the smaller evil of the two.

But, among all the reproaches which the *whigs* have flung upon their adversaries, there is none hath done them more service than that of *passive obedience*, as they represent it with the consequences of *non-resistance*, *arbitrary power*, *indefeasible right*, *tyranny*, *popery*, and what not. There is no accusation which hath passed with more plausibility than this; nor any that is supported with less justice. In order therefore to undeceive those who have been misled by false representations, I thought it would be no improper undertaking to set this matter in a fair light, which I think hath not yet been done. A *whig* asks, whether you hold *passive obedience*?

obedience? You affirm it: he then immediately cries out, You are a *jacobite*, a *friend of France* and the *pretender*! because he makes you answerable for the definition he hath formed of that term, however different it be from what you understand. I will therefore give two descriptions of *passive obedience*: the first as it is falsely charged by the *whigs*, the other as it is really professed by the *tories*, at least by nineteen in twenty of all I ever conversed with.

Passive obedience, as charged by the WHIGS.

“ THE doctrine of *passive obedience* is to believe, that a king, even in a limited monarchy, holding his power only from God, is only answerable to him: that such a king is above all law; that the cruellest tyrant must be submitted to in all things; and, if his commands be ever so unlawful, you must neither fly nor resist, nor use any other weapons than *prayers* and *tears*. Although he should force your wife or daughter, murder your children before your face, or cut off five hundred heads in a morning for his diversion; you are still to wish him a long, prosperous reign, and to be patient under all his cruelties with the same resignation as under a plague or a famine; because to resist him would be to resist God in the person of his vicegerent. If a king of *England* should go through the streets of *London* in order to murder every man he met, *passive obedience* commands them to submit. All laws made to limit him signifying

nothing, although passed by his own consent, if he thinks fit to break them. God will indeed call him to a severe account; but the whole people united to a man cannot presume to hold his hands, or offer him the least *active disobedience*: the people were certainly created for him, and not he for the people. His next heir, although worse than what I have described, although a fool or a mad-man, hath a divine indefeasible right to succeed him, which no law can disannul; nay, although he should kill his father upon the throne, he is immediately king to all intents and purposes; the possession of the crown wiping off all stains. But whosoever sits on the crown without this title, though ever so peaceably and by consent of former kings and parliaments, is an *usurper*, while there is any where in the world another person, who hath a nearer hereditary right; and the whole kingdom lies under mortal sin, till that heir be restored, because he hath a divine title, which no human law can defeat."

This and a great deal more hath, in a thousand papers and pamphlets, been laid to that doctrine of *passive obedience*, which the *whigs* are pleased to charge upon us. This is what they are perpetually instilling into the people as the undoubted principle, by which the present ministry and a great majority in parliament do at this time proceed. This is what they accuse the clergy of delivering from the pulpits, and of preaching up as a doc-

trine absolutely necessary to salvation. And whoever affirms in general, that *passive obedience* is due to the supreme power, he is presently loaded by our candid adversaries with such consequences as these. Let us therefore see what this doctrine is, when stripped of such misrepresentations, by describing it as really taught and practised by the *tories*; and then it will appear what grounds our adversaries have to accuse us upon this article.

Passive obedience, as professed and practised by the
T O R I E S.

“ THEY think that in every government, whether monarchy or republic, there is placed a supreme, absolute, unlimited power, to which *passive obedience* is due. That wherever is entrusted the power of making laws, that power is without all bounds; can repeal or enact at pleasure whatever laws it thinks fit; and justly demand universal obedience and non-resistance. That among us, as every body knows, this power is lodged in the king or queen, together with the lords and commons of the kingdom; and therefore all decrees whatsoever, made by that power, are to be actively or passively obeyed. That the administration, or executive part, of this power is in *England* solely entrusted with the prince, who, in administering those laws, ought to be no more resisted than the legislative power itself. But they do not conceive the same absolute *passive obedience* to be due to a

limited prince's commands, when they are directly contrary to the laws he hath consented to, and sworn to maintain. The crown may be sued, as well as a private person; and if an arbitrary king of *England* should send his officers to seize my lands or goods against law, I can lawfully resist them. The ministers, by whom he acts, are liable to prosecution and impeachment, although his own person be sacred. But if he interpose his royal authority to support their insolence, I see no remedy, until it grows a general grievance, or until the body of the people have reason to apprehend it will be so; after which it becomes a case of necessity, and then, I suppose, a free people may assert their own rights, yet without any violence to the person or lawful power of the prince. But although the *tories* allow all this, and did justify it by the share they had in the *revolution*; yet they see no reason for entering into so ungrateful a subject, or raising controversies upon it, as if we were in daily apprehensions of *tyranny* under the reign of so excellent a princess, and while we have so many laws of late years made to limit the prerogative; when, according to the judgment of those who know our constitution best, things rather seem to lean to the other extreme, which is equally to be avoided. As to the succession; the *tories* think an *hereditary right* to be the best in its own nature, and most agreeable to our old constitution; yet at the same time they allow it to be defeasible by act of parliament;

ment; and so is *magna charta* too, if the legislature think fit; which is a truth so manifest, that no man, who understands the nature of government, can be in doubt concerning it."

These I take to be the sentiments of a great majority among the *tories* with respect to *passive obedience*: and if the *whigs* insist, from the writings or common talk of warm and ignorant men, to form a judgment of the whole body according to the first account I have here given; I will engage to produce as many of their side, who are utterly against *passive obedience* even to the legislature; who will assert the last resort of power to be in the people against those, whom they have chosen and trusted as their representatives, with the prince at the head; and who will put wild improbable cases, to shew the reasonableness and necessity of resisting the legislative power in such imaginary junctures. Than which, however, nothing can be more idle; for I dare undertake, in any system of government, either speculative or practic, that was ever yet in the world, from *Plato's Republic* to *Harrington's Oceana*, to put such difficulties as cannot be answered.

All the other calumnies, raised by the *whigs*, may be as easily wiped off; and I have charity to wish they could as fully answer the just accusations we have against them. *Dodwell*, *Hicks*, and *Leslie* are gravely quoted to prove, that the *tories* design
to

to bring in the *pretender*; and if I should quote them to prove that the same thing is intended by the *whigs*, it would be full as reasonable; since I am sure they have at least as much to do with *non-jurors* as we. But our objections against the *whigs* are built upon their constant practice for many years, whereof I have produced an hundred instances, against any single one of which no answer hath yet been attempted, although I have been curious enough to look into all the papers I could meet with, that are written against the *Examiner*; such a task as, I hope, no man thinks I would undergo for any other end but that of finding an opportunity to own and rectify my mistakes; as I would be ready to do upon the call of the *meanest* adversary. Upon which occasion, I shall take leave to add a few words.

I flattered myself last *Thursday*, from the nature of my subject, and the inoffensive manner I handled it, that I should have one week's respite from those merciless pens, whose severity will some time break my heart: but I am deceived, and find them more violent than ever. They charge me with two *lies* and a *blunder*. The first *lie* is a truth, that *Guiscard* was invited over; but it is of no consequence. I do not tax it as a fault; such sort of men have often been serviceable: I only blamed the indiscretion of raising a profligate abbot, at the first step, to a lieutenant-general and colonel of a regiment of horse, without staying some reasonable time,

time, as is usual in such cases, until he had given some proofs of his fidelity, as well as of that interest and credit he pretended to have in his country. But that is said to be another lie; for he was a *papist*, and could not have a regiment: however this other lie is a truth too; for a regiment he had, and paid by us, to his agent monsieur *le Bas* for his use. The third is a *blunder*; that I say *Guiscard's* design was against Mr. secretary *St. John*, and yet my reasonings upon it are, as if it were personally against Mr. *Harley*. But I say no such thing, and my reasonings are just. I relate only what *Guiscard* said in *Newgate*, because it was a particularity the reader might be curious to know (and accordingly it lies in a paragraph by itself, after my reflexions) but I never meant to be answerable for what *Guiscard* said, or thought it of weight enough for me to draw conclusions from thence, when I had the address of both houses to direct me better; where it is expressly said, *that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majesty, and zeal for her service, have drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction*. This is what I believe, and what I shall stick to.

But, alas! these are not the passages which have raised so much fury against me. One or two mistakes in facts of no importance, or a single blunder, would not have provoked them; they are so tender of my reputation as a writer. All their outrage is occasioned by those passages in that paper, which

which they do not in the least pretend to answer, and with the utmost reluctance are forced to mention. They take abundance of pains to clear *Guiscard* from a design against Mr. *Harley's* life: but offer not one argument to clear their other friends, who, in the business of *Greg*, were equally guilty of the *same design* against the *same person*; whose *tongues were very swords*, and whose *pen-knives were axes*.

NUMBER XXXIV.

THURSDAY, March 29, 1711.

*Sunt hic etiam sua præmia laudi ;
Sunt lacrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

I Begin to be heartily weary of my employment as *Examiner* ; which I wish the ministry would consider with half so much concern as I do, and assign me some other, with less pains and a larger pension. There may soon be a vacancy, either on the bench, in the revenue, or the army, and I am equally qualified for each ; but this trade of *examining*, I apprehend, may at one time or other go near to sour my temper. I did lately propose, that some of those *ingenious* pens, which are engaged on the other side, might be employed to succeed me ; and I undertook to bring them over for *the other crown* : but it was answered, that those gentlemen do much better service in the stations where they are. It was added, that abundance of abuses yet remained to be laid open to the world, which I have often promised to do, but was too much diverted by other subjects that came into my head. On the other side, the advice of some friends, and the threats of many enemies, have put me upon considering, what would become of me, *if times should alter*. This I have done very maturely ; and the result is, that I am in no manner of pain. I grant, that
what

what I have said, upon occasion, concerning the late men in power, may be called satire by some unthinking people, as long as that faction is down; but if ever they come into play again, I must give them warning beforehand, that I shall expect to be a *favourite*, and that those pretended advocates of theirs will be pilloried for *libellers*. For I appeal to any man, whether I ever charged that party, or its leaders, with one single action or design, which (if we may judge by their former practices) they will not openly profess, be proud of, and score up for merit, when they come again to the head of affairs. I said, they were insolent to the QUEEN: will they not value themselves upon that, as an argument to prove them bold asserters of the people's liberty? I affirmed, they were against the peace: will they be angry with me for setting forth the refinements of their politicks, in pursuing the only method left to preserve them in power? I said, they had involved the nation in debts, and engrossed much of its money: they go all beyond me, and boast they have got it *all*, and the *credit* too. I have urged the probability of their intending great alterations in religion and government: if they destroy both at their next coming, will they not reckon my foretelling it rather as a panegyrick than an affront? I said, they had formerly a design against Mr. *Harley's* life [*m*]: if they were now in power, would they not immediately cut

[*m*] See *The Examiner*, N^o. xxxii. p. 174.

off his head, and thank me for justifying the sincerity of their intentions? In short, there is nothing I ever said of those worthy patriots, which may not be as well excused: therefore, as soon as they resume their places, I positively design to put in my claim; and, I think, may do it with a better grace than many of that party, who now make their court to the present ministry. I know two or three great men, at whose levees you may daily observe a score of the most forward faces, which every body is ashamed of, except those who wear them. But I conceive, my pretensions will be upon a very different foot. Let me offer a parallel case: suppose king *Charles* the first had entirely subdued the rebels at *Naseby*, and reduced the kingdom to his obedience; whoever had gone about to reason, from the former conduct of those *saints*, that, if the victory had fallen on their side, they would have murdered their prince, destroyed monarchy and the church, and made the king's party compound for their estates as delinquents, would have been called a false uncharitable libeller by those very persons, who afterwards gloried in all this, and called it the *work of the Lord*, when they happened to succeed. I remember there was a person fined and imprisoned for *scandalum magnatum*, because he said the duke of *York* was a papist: but when that prince came to be king, and made open profession of his religion, he had the justice immediately to release his prisoner, who, in his opinion, had put a compliment upon him,

and

and not a reproach: and therefore colonel *Titus*, who had warmly asserted the same thing in parliament, was made a privy counsellor.

By this rule, if that, which, for some politic reasons, is now called scandal upon the late ministry, proves one day to be only an abstract of such a character as they will assume and be proud of, I think I may fairly offer my pretensions, and hope for their favour: and I am the more confirmed in this notion, by what I have observed in those papers that come out weekly against the *Examiner*. The authors are perpetually telling me of my ingratitude to my masters; that I *blunder* and betray the cause; and write with more bitterness against those who hire me, than against the whigs. Now I took all this at first only for so many strains of wit, and pretty paradoxes to divert the reader; but, upon further thinking, I find they are serious. I imagined I had complimented the present ministry for their dutiful behaviour to the QUEEN, for their love of the old constitution in church and state, for their generosity and justice, and for their desire of a speedy and honourable peace; but, it seems, I am mistaken, and they reckon all this for satire, because it is directly contrary to the practice of all those whom they set up to defend, and utterly against all their notions of a good ministry. Therefore, I cannot but think they have reason on their side: for, suppose I should write the character of an honest, a religious, and a learned man; and send the first to *Newgate*, the second to the *Grecian coffee-house*, and the last to *White's*; would they

not all pass for satires, and justly enough, among the companies to whom they were sent?

Having therefore employed several papers in such sort of *panegyrics*, and but very few on what they understand to be *satires*, I shall henceforth, upon occasion, be more liberal of the latter; of which they are like to have a taste in the remainder of this present paper.

Among all the advantages which the kingdom hath received by the late change of ministry, the greatest must be allowed to be the calling of the present parliament upon the dissolution of the last. It is acknowledged, that this excellent assembly hath entirely recovered the honour of parliaments, which had been unhappily prostituted for some years past by the factious proceedings of an unnatural majority in concert with a most corrupt administration. It is plain, by the present choice of members, that the electors of *England*, when left to themselves, do rightly understand their true interest. The moderate *whigs* began to be convinced, that we have been all this while in wrong hands, and that things are now as they should be. And as the present house of commons is the best representative of the nation, that hath ever been summoned in our memories, so they have taken care, in their first session, by that noble bill of *qualification* [n], that future parliaments should be composed of landed men; and our properties lie

[n] The qualifications required by this act is some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion. See N^o. xlv.

no more at the mercy of those who have none themselves, or at least only what is transient or imaginary. If there be any gratitude in posterity, the memory of this assembly will be always celebrated; if otherwise, at least we, who share in the blessings they derive to us, ought, with grateful hearts, to acknowledge them.

I design, in some following papers, to draw up a list (for I can do no more) of the great things this parliament hath already performed; the many abuses they have detected; their justice in deciding elections without regard to party; their chearfulness and address in raising supplies for the war, and, at the same time, providing for the nation's debts; their duty to the QUEEN, and their kindness to the church. In the mean time, I cannot forbear mentioning two particulars, which, in my opinion, do discover, in some measure, the temper of the present parliament, and bear analogy to those passages, related by *Plutarch*, in the lives of certain great men: which, as himself observeth, *although they be not of actions which make any great noise or figure in history, yet give more light into the characters of persons, than we could receive from an account of their most renowned achievements.*

Something like this may be observed from two late instances of decency and good nature in that illustrious assembly I am speaking of. The first was, when, after that inhuman attempt upon Mr. *Harley*, they were pleased to vote an address to the QUEEN, wherein they express their utmost detestation

tion of the fact, their high esteem and great concern for that able minister, and justly impute his misfortunes to that zeal for her majesty's service, which had *drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction*. I dare affirm, that so distinguishing a mark of honour and good will, from such a parliament, was more acceptable to a person of Mr. *Harley's* generous nature, than the the most *bountiful grant* that was ever yet made to a subject; as her majesty's answer, filled with gracious expressions in his favour, adds more to his *real glory*, than any *titles* she could bestow. The prince and representatives of the whole kingdom join in their concern for so important a life: these are the true rewards of virtue; and this is the commerce between noble spirits in a coin which the *giver* knows where to bestow, and the *receiver* how to value, although neither *avarice* nor *ambition* would be able to comprehend its worth.

The other instance I intend to produce of *decency* and *good nature* in the present house of commons, relates to their most worthy speaker [o]; who having unfortunately lost his eldest son, the assembly, moved with a generous pity for so sensible an affliction, adjourned themselves for a week, that so good a servant of the publick might have some interval to wipe away a father's tears. And, indeed, that gentleman hath too just an occasion for his grief by the death of a son, who had already

[o] *William Bromley, esq.*

acquired so great a reputation for every amiable quality, and who might have lived to be so great an honour and an ornament to his ancient family.

Before I conclude, I must desire one favour of the reader ; that, when he thinks it worth his while to peruse any paper written against the *Examiner*, he will not form his judgment by any mangled quotation out of it, which he finds in such papers, but be so just to read the paragraph referred to ; which, I am confident, will be found a sufficient answer to all that ever those papers can object : at least I have seen above fifty of them, and never yet observed one single quotation transcribed with common candour.

NUMBER XXXV.

THURSDAY, April 5, 1711.

Nullo suo peccato impediuntur, quo minus alterius peccata demonstrare possint.

I Have been considering the old constitution of this kingdom; comparing it with the monarchies and republics whereof we meet so many accounts in ancient story, and with those at present in most parts of *Europe*. I have considered our religion, established here by the legislature soon after the Reformation: I have likewise examined the genius and disposition of the people under that reasonable freedom they possess. Then I have turned my reflexions upon those two great divisions of *whig* and *tory* (which some way or other take in the whole kingdom) with the principles they both profess, as well as those wherewith they reproach one another. From all this I endeavour to determine from which side her present majesty may reasonably hope for most security to her person and government; and to which she ought, in prudence, to trust the administration of her affairs. If these two rivals were really no more than *parties*, according to the common acceptance of the word, I should agree with those politicians, who think a prince descends from his dignity by putting himself at the head of either;

and that his wisest course is to keep them in a balance, raising or depressing either as it best suits with his designs. But when the visible interest of his crown and kingdom lies on one side; and when the other is but a *faction*, raised and strengthened by incidents and intrigues, and by deceiving the people with false representations of things; he ought, in prudence, to take the first opportunity of opening his subjects eyes, and declaring himself in favour of those who are for preserving the civil and religious rights of the nation, wherewith his own are so interwoven.

This was certainly our case: for I do not take the heads, advocates, and followers of the *whigs* to make up, strictly speaking, a *national party*; being patched up of heterogeneous, inconsistent parts, whom nothing served to unite, but the the common interest of sharing in the spoil and plunder of the people; their present dread of their adversaries, by whom they apprehended to be called to an account; and that general conspiracy of endeavouring to overturn the church and state, which, however, if they could have compassed, they would certainly have fallen out among themselves, and broke in pieces, as *their predecessors* did after they destroyed the monarchy and religion. For how could a *whig*, who is against all discipline, agree with a *presbyterian*, who carries it higher than the *papists* themselves? How could a *socinian* adjust his models to either? or how could any of these cement with a *deist*, or *free-thinker*, when
they

they came to consult upon points of faith? Neither would they have agreed better in their systems of government; where some would have been for a king under the limitations of a duke of *Venice*; others for a *Dutch* republic; a third party for an *aristocracy*; and most of all for some new fabrick of their own contriving.

But however, let us consider them as a *party*, and under those general tenets wherein they agreed, and which they publicly owned, without charging them with any that they pretend to deny. Then, let us *examine* those principles of the *tories*, which their adversaries allow them to profess, and do not pretend to tax them with any actions contrary to those professions: after which let the reader judge, from which of these two parties a prince had most to fear; and whether her majesty did not consider the ease, the safety, and dignity of her person, the security of her crown, and the transmission of monarchy to her protestant successors, when she put her affairs into the present hands.

Suppose the matter were now entire; the QUEEN to make her choice; and, for that end, should order the principles on both sides to be fairly laid before her. First I conceive, the *whigs* would grant, that they have naturally no very great veneration for *crowned heads*; that they allow the person of the prince may, upon many occasions, be resisted by arms; and that they do not condemn the war raised against king *Charles* the first, or own it to be a rebellion, although they would

be thought to blame his murder. They do not think the *prerogative* to be yet sufficiently limited; and have therefore taken care (as a particular mark of their veneration for the illustrious house of *Hanover*) to clip it still closer against the next reign; which consequently they would be glad to see done in the present: not to mention, that the majority of them, if it were put to the vote, would allow that they prefer a commonwealth before a monarchy. As to *religion*; their universal undisputed maxim is, that it ought to make no distinction at all among *protestants*; and in the word *protestant* they include every body who is not a *papist*, and who will, by an oath, give security to the government. Union in discipline and doctrine, the offensive sin of schism, the notion of a church and a hierarchy, they laugh at as foppery, cant, and *priestcraft*. They see no necessity at all that there should be a national faith; and what we usually call by that name, they only style the *religion of the magistrate* [p]. Since the dissenters and we agree in the main, why should the difference of a few speculative points or modes of dress incapacitate them from serving their prince and country, in a juncture when we ought to have all hands up against the common enemy? and why should they be forced to take the sacrament from our clergy's hands, and in our posture; or, indeed, why compelled to receive it at all, when

[p] See *Letter on the test*, vol. ix.

they take an employment which has nothing to do with religion?

These are the notions which most of that party avow, and which they do not endeavour to disguise or set off with false colours, or complain of being misrepresented about. I have here placed them, on purpose, in the same light, which themselves do in the very apologies they make for what we accuse them of; and how inviting even these doctrines are for such a monarch to close with, as our law, both statute and common, understands a king of *England* to be, let others decide. But then, if to these we should add other opinions, which most of their own writers justify, and which their universal practice hath given a sanction to; they are no more than what a prince might reasonably expect, as the natural consequence of those avowed principles. For when such persons are at the head of affairs, the low opinion they have of princes will certainly lead them to violate that respect they ought to bear; and, at the same time, their own want of duty to their sovereign is largely made up, by exacting greater submissions to themselves from their fellow-subjects: it being indisputably true, that the same principle of pride and ambition makes a man treat his equals with insolence, in the same proportion as he affronts his superiors; as both prince and people have sufficiently felt from the late ministry.

Then, from their confessed notions of religion as above related, I see no reason to wonder, why
 4 they

they countenanced not only all sorts of dissenters, but the several *gradations* of *free-thinkers* among us (all which are openly enrolled in their party); nor why they were so very averse from the present established form of worship, which, by prescribing obedience to princes from the topic of conscience, would be sure to thwart all their schemes of innovation.

One thing I might add, as another acknowledged maxim in that party, and, in my opinion, as dangerous to the constitution as any I have mentioned; I mean, that of preferring, on all occasions, the *monied* interest before the *landed*; which they were so far from denying, that they would gravely debate the reasonableness and justice of it; and, at the rate they went on, might, in a little time, have found a majority of representatives fitly qualified to lay those heavy burdens on the rest of the nation, which themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.

However, to deal impartially, there are some motives, which might compel a prince under the necessity of affairs to deliver himself over to that party. They were *said* to possess the great bulk of cash, and consequently of credit in the nation; and the heads of them had the reputation of presiding over those societies, who have the great direction of both; so that all application for loans to the public service, upon any emergency, must be made through them; and it might prove highly dangerous to disoblige them, because, in that case,
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it was not to be doubted, that they would be obstinate and malicious, ready to obstruct all affairs, not only by shutting their own purses, but by endeavouring to sink *credit*, although with some present imaginary loss to themselves, only to shew it was a *creature* of their own.

From this summary of *whig principles* and dispositions we find, what a prince may reasonably fear and hope from that party. Let us now very briefly consider the doctrines of the *tories*, which their adversaries will not dispute. As they prefer a well-regulated monarchy before all other forms of government, so they think it next to impossible to alter that institution here, without involving our whole island in blood and desolation. They believe, that the prerogative of a sovereign ought at least to be held as sacred and inviolable as the rights of his people; if only for this reason, because without a due share of power he will not be able to protect them. They think, that, by many known laws of this realm, both statute and common, neither the person nor lawful authority of the prince ought, upon any pretence whatsoever, to be resisted or disobeyed. Their sentiments, in relation to the church, are known enough, and will not be controverted, being just the reverse to what I have delivered as the doctrine and practice of the *whigs* upon that article.

But here I must likewise deal impartially too; and add one principle as a characteristick of the *tories*, which hath much discouraged some princes
from

from making use of them in affairs. Give the *whigs* but power enough to insult their sovereign, engross his favours to themselves, and to oppress and plunder their fellow-subjects; they presently grow into good-humour and good-language towards the crown; profess they will stand by it with their lives and fortunes; and whatever rudenesses they may be guilty of in private, yet they assure the world that there never was so gracious a monarch. But to the shame of the *tories* it must be confessed, that nothing of all this hath been ever observed in them; in or out of favour, you see no alteration, farther than a little chearfulness or cloud in their countenances: the highest employments can add nothing to their loyalty; but their behaviour to their prince, as well as their expressions of love and duty, are, in all conditions, exactly the same.

Having thus impartially stated the avowed principle of *whig* and *tory*; let the reader determine, as he pleaseth, to which of these two a wise prince may, with most safety to himself and the publick, trust his person and his affairs; and whether it were rashness or prudence in her majesty, to make those changes in the ministry, which have been so highly extolled by some, and condemned by others.

NUMBER XXXVI,

THURSDAY, April 12, 1711.

*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,
Una dies dedit exitio.*

I Write this paper for the sake of the *dissenters*, whom I take to be the most spreading branch of the *whig party*, that *professeth christianity*; and the only one that seems to be zealous for any particular system of it; the bulk of those we call the *low-church* being generally indifferent and undetermined in that point; and the other subdivisions having not yet taken either the Old or New Testament into their scheme. By the *dissenters* therefore it will include the sects of *anabaptists*, *independents*, and others, which have been melted down into them since the *reformation*. This sect, in order to make itself national, having gone so far as to raise a rebellion, murder their king, destroy monarchy and the church, was afterwards broken in pieces by its own divisions; which made way for the king's return from his exile. However the zealous among them did still entertain hopes of recovering the *dominion of grace*; whereof I have read a remarkable passage in a book published about the year 1661, and written by one of their own side. As one of the regicides was going to his execution, a friend asked him, *whether he*
thought

thought the cause would revive? He answered, *the cause is in the bosom of Christ; and as sure as Christ rose from the dead, so sure will the cause revive also.* And therefore the *nonconformists* were strictly watched, and restrained by penal laws, during the reign of king *Charles* the second; the court and kingdom looking on them as a *faction* ready to join in any design against the government in church or state. And surely this was reasonable enough, while so many continued alive who had voted, and fought, and preached against both, and gave no proof that they had changed their principles. The *nonconformists* were then exactly upon the same foot with our *nonjurors* now, whom we double tax, forbid their conventicles, and keep under hatches, without thinking ourselves possessed with a persecuting spirit; because we know they want nothing but the power to ruin us. This, in my opinion, should altogether silence the *dissenters* complaints of persecution under king *Charles* the second; or make them shew us wherein they differed at that time, from what our *jacobites* are now.

Their inclinations to the church were soon discovered, when king *James* the second succeeded to the crown, with whom they unanimously joined in its ruin, to revenge themselves for that restraint, they had most justly suffered in the foregoing reign, not from the persecuting temper of the clergy, as their clamours would suggest, but the prudence and caution of the legislature. The same
in-

indulgence against law was made use of by them and the *papists*; and they amicably employed their power, as in defence of one common interest.

But the Revolution happening soon after served to wash away the memory of the rebellion; upon which the run against *popery* was, no doubt, as just and seasonable, as that of *fanaticism* after the Restoration; and the dread of *popery* being then our latest danger, and consequently the most fresh upon our spirits, all mouths were open against that; the *dissenters* were rewarded with an indulgence by law; the rebellion and king's murder were now no longer a reproach; the former was only a civil war; and whoever durst call it a *rebellion* was a *jacobite* and *friend* to *France*. This was the more unexpected; because, the Revolution being wholly brought about by the church of *England* hands, they hoped one good consequence of it would be the relieving us from the encroachments of *dissenters*, as well as those of *papists*; since both had equally confederated towards our ruin: and therefore, when the crown was new settled, it was hoped at least, that the rest of the constitution would be restored. But this affair took a very different turn: the *dissenters* had just made a shift to save a tide, and join with the prince of *Orange*, when they found all was desperate with their *protector* king *James*; and, observing a party, then forming against the old principles in church and state, under the name of *whigs* and
low-

low-churchmen, they lifted themselves of it, where they have ever since continued.

It is, therefore, upon the foot they now are, that I would apply myself to them, and desire they would consider the different circumstances at present, from what they were under, when they began their designs against the church and monarchy about seventy years ago. At that juncture, they made up the body of the party; and whosoever joined with them from principles of revenge, discontent, ambition, or love of change, were all forced to shelter under their denomination; united heartily in the pretences of a further and purer reformation in religion, and of advancing the *great work* (as the *cant* was then) *that God was about to do in these nations*; received the systems of doctrine and discipline prescribed by the *Scots*, and readily took the *covenant*; so that there appeared no division among them, till after the common enemy was subdued.

But now their case is quite otherwise; and I can hardly think it worth being of a *party*, upon the terms they have been received of late years. For, suppose the whole *faction* should at length succeed in their design of destroying the church; are they so weak to imagine, that the new-modelling of religion would be put into their hands? Would their brethren, the *low-churchmen* and *free-thinkers*, submit to their *discipline*, their *synods*, or their *classes*; and divide the lands of bishops, or deans and chapters, among them? How can they help
observing,

observing, that their allies, instead of pretending more sanctity than other men, are some of them for levelling all religion; and the rest for abolishing it? Is it not manifest, that they have been treated by their confederates exactly after the same manner as they were by king *James* the second; made instruments to ruin the church; not for their own sakes, but, under a pretended project of universal freedom in opinion, to advance the dark designs of those who employ them? For, excepting the *antimonarchical principle*, and a few false notions about *liberty*, I see but little agreement betwixt them; and even in these, I believe, it would be impossible to contrive a frame of government that would please them all, if they had it now in their power to try. But however, to be sure, the *presbyterian* institution would never obtain. For suppose they should, in imitation of their predecessors, propose to have no king but our Saviour CHRIST; the whole clan of *free-thinkers* would immediately object and refuse his authority. Neither would their *low-church* brethren use them better, as well knowing what enemies they are to that doctrine of unlimited toleration, wherever they are suffered to preside. So that upon the whole I do not see, as their present circumstances stand, where the *dissenters* can find better quarter than from the church of *England*.

Besides, I leave it to their consideration, whether, with all their zeal against the church, they ought not to shew a little decency; and how far

it consists with their reputation to act in concert with such confederates. It was reckoned a very infamous proceeding in the present *most christian king* to assist the *Turk* against the *emperor*: policy and reasons of state were not allowed sufficient excuses for taking part with an *infidel* against a *believer*. It is one of the *dissenters* quarrels against the church, that she is not enough reformed from *popery*: yet they boldly entered into a league with *papists* and a *papish prince* to destroy her. They profess much sanctity, and object against the wicked lives of some of our members; yet they have been long, and still continue, in strict combination with *libertines* and *atheists* to contrive our ruin. What if the *Jews* should multiply, and become a formidable party among us? Would the *dissenters* join in alliance with them likewise, because they agree already in some general principles, and because the *Jews* are allowed to be a *stiff-necked and rebellious people*?

It is the part of wise men to conceal their passions, when they are not in circumstances of exerting them to purpose: The arts of getting power, and preserving indulgence, are very different. For the former, the reasonable hopes of the *dissenters* seem to be at an end; their comrades, the *whigs* and *free-thinkers*, are just in a condition proper to be forsaken; and their parliament, as well as the body of the people, will be deluded no longer. Besides, it sometimes happens for a cause to be exhausted and worn out, as that of the *whigs* in ge-

neral seems at present to be: the nation had felt enough of it. It is as vain to hope restoring that decayed interest, as for a man of sixty to talk of entering on a new scene of life, that is only proper for youth and vigour. New circumstances and new men must arise, as well as new occasions, which are not like to happen in our time. So that the *dissenters* have no game left at present, but to secure their *indulgence*: in order to which, I will be so bold to offer them some advice.

First, That until some late proceedings are a little forgot, they would take care not to provoke, by any violence of tongue or pen, so great a majority as there is now against them; nor keep up any longer that combination with their broken allies; but disperse themselves, and lie dormant against some better opportunity. I have shewn they could have got no advantage, if the late party had prevailed; and they will certainly lose none by its fall, unless through their own fault. They pretend a mighty veneration for the QUEEN; let them give proof of it by quitting the ruined interest of those who have used her so ill; and by a due respect to the persons she is pleased to trust at present with her affairs. When they can no longer hope to govern, when struggling can do them no good, and may possibly hurt them; what is left, but to be silent and passive?

Secondly, Although there be no law (besides that of God Almighty) against *occasional conformity*, it would be prudence in the *dissenters* to use it as ten-

derly as they can: for, besides the infamous hypocrisy of the thing itself, too frequent practice would perhaps make a remedy necessary. And after all they have said to justify themselves in this point, it still continues hard to conceive, how those consciences can pretend to be scrupulous, upon which an employment hath more power than the love of unity.

In the last place, I am humbly of opinion, that the *dissenters* would do well to drop that *lesson* they have learned from their directors, of affecting to be under horrible apprehensions, that the *tories* are in the interest of the *pretender*, and would be ready to embrace the first opportunity of inviting him over. It is with the worst grace in the world that they offer to join in the cry upon this article: as if those, who *alone* stood in the gap against all the encroachments of *popery* and *arbitrary power*, are not more likely to keep out both than a sett of *schismatics*, who, to gratify their ambition and revenge, did, by the meanest compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate prince to fall upon such measures, as must at last have ended in the ruin of our liberty and religion.

P. S. I wish those, who give themselves the trouble to write to the *Examiner*, would consider what they send be proper for such a paper to take notice of. I had one letter last week, written, as I suppose, by a divine, to desire I would offer some reasons against a bill now before the
parliament

parliament for *ascertaining the tithe of hops*; from which the writer apprehends great damage to the clergy, especially the poorer *vicars*. If it be as he says (and he seems to argue very reasonably upon it) the *convocation* now sitting will, no doubt, upon due application, represent the matter to the house of commons, and he may expect all justice and favour from that *great body*, who have already appeared so tender of their *rights*.

A gentleman likewise, who hath sent me several letters relating to personal hardships he received from some of the late ministry, is advised to publish a narrative of them, they being too large, and not proper for this paper.

NUMBER XXXVII.

THURSDAY, April 19, 1711.

*Semper causæ eventorum magis movent quam ipsa
eventa.*

I AM glad to observe that several, among the *whigs*, have begun very much to change their language of late. The style is now, among the reasonable part of them, when they meet a man in business, or a member of parliament; *Well, gentlemen, if you go on as you have hitherto done, we shall no longer have any pretence to complain.* They find, it seems, that there have been yet no overtures made to bring in the *pretender*, nor any preparatory steps towards it. They read no enslaving votes, nor bills brought in to endanger the subject. The indulgence to scrupulous consciences is again confirmed from the throne, inviolably preserved, and not the least whisper offered that may affect it. All care is taken to support the war; supplies cheerfully granted, and funds readily subscribed to, in spite of the little arts made use of to discredit them. The just resentments of some, which are laudable in themselves, and which, at another juncture, it might be proper to give way to, have been softened or diverted by the calmness of others. So that, upon the article of present manage-

management, I do not see how any objection of weight can well be raised.

However, our adversaries still alledge, that this great success was wholly unexpected, and out of all probable view; that, in public affairs, we ought, least of all others, to judge by events: that the attempt of changing a ministry, during the difficulties of a long war, was rash and inconsiderate: that, if the QUEEN were disposed, by her inclinations, or from any personal dislike, for such a change, it might have been done with more safety in a time of peace: that, if it had miscarried by any of those incidents, which, in all appearance, might have intervened, the consequences would, perhaps, have ruined the whole confederacy: and therefore, however it hath now succeeded, the experiment was too dangerous to try.

But this is what we can by no means allow them. We never will admit rashness or chance to have produced all this harmony and order. It is visible to the world, that the several steps towards this change were slowly taken, and with the utmost caution. The *movers* observed as they went on, how matters would bear; and advanced no farther at first, than so as they might be able to stop or go back, if circumstances were not mature. Things were grown to such a height, that it was no longer the question, whether a person, who aimed at an employment, were a *whig* or *tory*; much less whether he had merit, or proper abilities, for what he pretended to: he must owe his

preferment only to the favourites ; and the crown was so far from *nominating*, that they would not allow it a *negative*. This the QUEEN was resolved no longer to endure ; and began to break into their *prescription*, by bestowing one or two places of consequence without consulting her *ephori*, after they had fixed them for others, and concluded, as usual, that all their business was to signify their pleasure to her majesty. But although the persons the QUEEN had chosen were such, as no objection could well be raised against upon the score of party, yet the *oligarchy* took the alarm ; their sovereign authority was, it seems, called in question ; they grew into anger and discontent, as if their undoubted rights were violated. All former obligations to their sovereign now became cancelled ; and they put themselves upon the foot of people, who are hardly used after the most eminent services.

I believe all men, who know any thing in politics, will agree, that a prince thus treated by those he hath most confided in, and perpetually loaded with his favours, ought to extricate himself as soon as possible ; and is then only blameable in his choice of time, when he defers one minute after it is in his power ; because, from the monstrous encroachments of exorbitant avarice and ambition, he cannot tell how long it may continue to be so. And it will be found, upon enquiring into history, that most of those princes, who have been ruined by favourites, have owed their misfortune

tune to the neglect of earlier remedies; deferring to struggle, until they were quite sunk.

The *whigs* are every day cursing the ungovernable rage, the haughty pride, and insatiable covetousness, of a *certain person*, as the cause of their fall; and are apt to tell their thoughts, that *one single removal* might have set all things right. But the interests of that *single person* were found, upon experience, so complicated and woven with the rest by *love*, by *awe*, by *marriage*, by *alliance*, that they would rather confound heaven and earth, than dissolve such an union.

I have always heard and understood, that a king of *England*, possessed of his peoples hearts, at the head of a free parliament; and in full agreement with a great majority, made the true figure in the world that such a monarch ought to do; and pursued the real interest of himself and his kingdom. Will they allow her majesty to be in those circumstances at present? And was it not plain, by the addresses sent from all parts of the island, and by the visible disposition of the people, that such a parliament would undoubtedly be chosen? And so it proved, without the court's using any arts to influence elections.

What people then are these in a corner, to whom the constitution must truckle? If the whole nation's credit cannot supply funds for the war, without humble applications from the entire legislature to a few *retailers* of money, it is high time we should sue for a peace. What new maxims are

are these, which neither we nor our forefathers ever heard of before, and which no wise institution would ever allow? Must our laws from henceforward pass the *Bank* and *East-India* company, or have their *royal assent* before they are in force?

To hear some of these worthy reasoners talking of *credit*, that she is so nice, so squeamish, so capricious, you would think they were describing a lady troubled with vapours or the colick, to be removed only by a *course of steel*, or *swallowing a bullet*. By the narrowness of their thoughts, one would imagine, they conceived the world to be no wider than *Exchange-alley*. It is probable *they* may have such a sickly dame among them; and it is well if she hath no worst diseases, considering what hands she passes through. But the *national credit* is of another complexion; of sound health, and an even temper; her life and existence being a quintessence drawn from the vitals of the whole kingdom: and we find these *money politicians*, after all their noise, to be of the same opinion, by the court they paid her, when she lately appeared to them in the form of a *lottery*.

As to that mighty error in politicks they charge upon the QUEEN, for changing her ministry in the height of a war, I suppose it is only looked upon as an error under a *whiggish administration*; otherwise the late king had much to answer for, who did it pretty frequently. And it is well known, that the late ministry of *famous memory* was brought in during the present war; only with
this

this circumstance, that two or three of the chief did first change their own principles, and then took in suitable companions.

But, however, I see no reason why the *tories* should not value their wisdom by events, as well as the *whigs*. Nothing was ever thought a more precipitate, rash counsel than that of *altering the coin* at the juncture it was done; yet the prudence of the undertaking was sufficiently justified by the success. Perhaps it will be said, that the attempt was necessary, because the whole species of money was so grievously clipped and counterfeit. And is not her majesty's authority as sacred as her coin? And hath not that been most scandalously clipped and mangled, and often counterfeited too?

It is another grievous complaint of the *whigs*, that their late friends, and the whole party, are treated with abundance of severity in print, and in particular by the *Examiner*. They think it hard, that, when they are wholly deprived of power, hated by the people, and out of all hope of re-establishing themselves, their infirmities should be so often displayed, in order to render them yet more odious to mankind. This is what they employ their writers to set forth in their papers of the week; and it is humourous enough to observe one page taken up in railing at the *Examiner* for his invectives against a discarded ministry, and the other side filled with the falsest and vilest abuses against those who are now in the highest power and credit with their sovereign, and whose least
breath

breath would scatter them into silence and obscurity. However, although I have often wondered to see so much licentiousness taken and connived at, and am sure it would not be suffered in any other country of *Christendom*; yet I never once invoked the assistance of the *gaol* or *pillory*, which, upon the least provocation, was the usual style during their tyranny. There hath not passed a week these twenty years without some malicious paper scattered in every coffee-house by the emissaries of that party, whether it were *down* or *up*. I believe, they will not pretend to object the same thing to us: nor do I remember any constant weekly paper with reflexions on the late ministry or *junto*. They have many weak defenceless parts; they have not been used to a regular attack, and therefore it is that they are so ill able to endure one, when it comes to be their turn. So that they complain more of a few month's truths from us, than we did of all their lies and malice for twice as many years.

I cannot forbear observing, upon this occasion, that those worthy authors I am speaking of, seem to me not fairly to represent the sentiments of their party; who, in disputing with us, do generally give up several of the late ministry, and freely own many of their failings. They confess the monstrous *debt upon the navy* to have been caused by most scandalous mismanagement; they allow the *insolence* of *some*, and the *avarice* of *others*, to have been insupportable: but these gentlemen are most
liberal

liberal of their praises to those persons, and upon those very articles, where their wisest friends give up the point. They gravely tell us, that *such a one* was the most faithful servant that ever any prince had; *another* the most dutiful: a *third*, the most generous; a *fourth*, of the greatest integrity; so that I look upon these champions rather as retained by a *cabal* than a *party*; which I desire the reasonable men among them would please to consider.

NUMBER XXXVIII.

THURSDAY, April 26, 1711.

*Indignum est in ea civitate, quæ legibus continetur,
discedi a legibus.*

I Have been often considering how it comes to pass, that the dexterity of mankind in evil should always outgrow not only the prudence and caution of private persons, but the continual expedience of the wisest laws contrived to prevent it. I cannot imagine a knave to possess a greater share of natural wit or genius, than an honest man. I have known very notable sharpers at play, who, upon all occasions, were as great dunces as human shape can well allow; and, I believe, the same might may be observed among the other knots of thieves and pick-pockets about this town. The proposition, however, is certainly true, and to be confirmed by an hundred instances. A scrivener, an attorney, a stock-jobber, and many other *retailers of fraud*, shall not only be able to overreach others much wiser than themselves, but find out new inventions to elude the force of any law made against them. I suppose the reason of this may be, that as the aggressor is said to have generally the advantage of the *defender*, so the makers of the law, which is to defend our rights, have usually not so much industry or vigour as those,
whose

whose interest leads them to attack it. Besides, it rarely happens that men are rewarded by the publick for their justice and virtue; neither do those, who act upon such principles, expect any recompence until the next world: whereas fraud, where it succeeds, gives present pay; and this is allowed the greatest spur imaginable both to labour and invention. Where a law is made to stop some growing evil, the wits of those, whose interest it is to break it with secrecy or impunity, are immediately at work; and, even among those who pretend to fairer characters, many would gladly find means to avoid what they they would not be thought to violate. They desire to reap the advantage, if possible, without the shame, or at least without the danger. This art is what I take that dextrous race of men, sprung up soon after the revolution, to have studied with great application ever since; and to have arrived at great perfection in. According to the doctrine of some *romish* casuists, they have found out *quam prope ad peccatum sine peccato possint accedere*; they can tell how to go within an inch of an impeachment, and yet come back untouched. They know what degree of corruption will just forfeit an employment, and whether the bribe you receive be sufficient to set you right, and put something in your pocket besides: how much to a penny, you may safely cheat the QUEEN, whether forty, fifty, or sixty *per cent.* according to the station you are in, and the dispositions of the persons in office below and
above

above you. They have computed the price you may securely take or give for a place, or what part of the salary you ought to reserve: they can discreetly distribute five hundred pounds in a small borough, without any danger from the statutes against bribing elections. They can manage a bargain for an office, by a third, fourth, or fifth hand; so that you shall not know whom to accuse: they can win a thousand guineas at play, in spite of the dice, and send away the loser satisfied. They can pass the most exorbitant accounts, over-pay the creditor with half his demands, and sink the rest.

It would be endless to relate, or rather, indeed, impossible to discover, the several arts, which curious men have found out to enrich themselves, by defrauding the publick in defiance of the law. The military men, both by sea and land, have equally cultivated this most useful science: neither hath it been altogether neglected by the other sex; of which, on the contrary, I could produce an instance, that would make ours blush to be so far out-done.

Besides, to confess the truth, our laws themselves are extremely defective in many articles, which I take to be one ill effect of our best possession, liberty. Some years ago, the ambassador of a great prince was arrested, and outrages committed on his person in our streets, without any possibility of redress from *Westminster-hall*, or the prerogative of the sovereign; and the legislature was forced to
provide

provide a remedy against the like evil in times to come. A commissioner of the stamped paper was lately discovered to have notoriously cheated the publick of great sums for many years, by counterfeiting the stamps, which the law had made capital; but the aggravation of his crime proved to be the cause that saved his life; and that additional heightening circumstance of betraying his trust was found to be a legal defence. I am assured, that the notorious cheat of the brewers at *Portsmouth*, detected about two months ago in parliament, cannot, by any law now in force, be punished in any degree equal to the guilt and infamy of it. Nay, what is almost incredible, had *Guiscard* [q] survived his detestable attempt upon Mr. *Harley's* person, all the inflaming circumstances of the fact would not have sufficed, in the opinion of many lawyers, to have punished him with death; and the publick must have lain under this *dilemma*, either to condemn him by a law *ex post facto* (which would have been of dangerous consequence, and form an ignominious precedent) or undergo the mortification to see the greatest villain upon earth escape unpunished, to the infinite triumph and delight of *popery* and *faction*. But even this is not to be wondered at, when we consider, that of all the insolences offered to the QUEEN since the act of indemnity (at least that ever came to my ears) I can hardly instance above two or three, which, by the letter of the law, could amount to high-treason.

[q] He died of the wounds he received.

From these defects in our laws, and the want of some discretionary power, safely lodged, to exert upon emergencies; as well as from the great acquirements of able men to elude the penalties of those laws they break; it is no wonder that the injuries done to the publick are so seldom redressed. But besides, no individual suffers by any wrong he doth to the commonwealth, in proportion to the advantage he gains by doing it. There are seven or eight millions who contribute to the loss, while the whole gain is sunk among a few. The damage suffered by the publick, is not so immediately or heavily felt by particular persons; and the zeal of prosecutions is apt to drop and be lost among numbers.

But imagine a sett of politicians for many years at the head of affairs, the game visibly their own, and by consequence acting with great security; may not these be sometimes tempted to forget their caution, by length of time, by excess of avarice and ambition, by the insolence or violence of their nature, or, perhaps, by a mere contempt for their adversaries? May not such motives as these put them often upon actions directly against the law, such as no evasions can be found for, and which will lay them fully open to the vengeance of a prevailing interest, whenever they are out of power? It is answered in the affirmative. And here we cannot refuse the late ministry their due praises; who, foreseeing a storm, provided for their own safety by two admirable expedients, by which with great prudence they have

have escaped the punishments due to pernicious counsels and corrupt management. The first was to procure, under pretences hardly specious, a general act of indemnity, which cuts off all impeachments. The second was yet more refined: suppose, for instance, a counsel is to be pursued, which is necessary to carry on the dangerous designs of a prevailing party, to preserve them in power, to gratify the unmeasurable appetites of a few *leaders* civil and military, although by hazarding the ruin of the whole nation: this counsel, desperate in itself, unprecedented in its nature, they procure a majority to form into an address, which makes it look like the sense of the nation. Under that shelter they carry on their work, and lie secure against after-reckonings.

I must be so free to tell my meaning in this: that, among other things, I understand it of the address made to the QUEEN, about three years ago, to desire that her majesty would not consent to a peace, without the entire restitution of *Spain*. A proceeding which, to people abroad, must look like the highest strain of temerity, folly, and gasconade. But we at home, who allow the promoters of that advice to be no fools, can easily comprehend the depth and mystery of it. They were assured by this means to pin down the war upon us; consequently to encrease their own power and wealth, and multiply difficulties on the QUEEN and kingdom, until they had fixed their party too firmly to be shaken, whenever they should find themselves

disposed to reverse their address, and give us leave to wish for a peace.

If any man entertains a more favourable opinion of this monstrous step in politicks, I would ask him, what we must do in case we find it impossible to recover *Spain*? Those among the *whigs*, who believe a God, will confess that the events of war lie in his hands; and the rest of them, who acknowledge no such power, will allow, that fortune hath too great a share in the good or ill success of military actions to let a wise man reason upon them, as if they were entirely in his power. If Providence shall think fit to refuse success to our arms; with how ill a grace, with what shame and confusion, shall we be obliged to recant that precipitate address, unless the world will be so charitable to consider, that parliaments among us differ as much as princes; and that, by the fatal conjunction of many unhappy circumstances, it is very possible for our island to be represented sometimes by those who have the least pretensions? So little truth or justice there is in what some pretend to advance, that the actions of former senates ought always to be treated with respect by the latter; that those assemblies are all equally venerable, and no one to be preferred before another: by which argument, the parliament that began the rebellion against king *Charles I.* voted his trial, and appointed his murderers, ought to be remembered with respect.

But to return from this digression: It is very plain, that, considering the defectiveness of our laws,
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the variety of cases, the weakness of the prerogative, the power or the cunning of ill-designing men, it is possible that many great abuses may be visibly committed, which cannot be legally punished; especially if we add to this, that some enquiries might probably involve those, whom, upon other accounts, it is not thought convenient to disturb. Therefore it is very false reasoning, especially in the management of public affairs, to argue that men are innocent, because the law hath not pronounced them guilty.

I am apt to think it was to supply such defects as these, that satire was first introduced into the world; whereby those, whom neither religion, nor natural virtue, nor fear of punishment, were able to keep within the bounds of their duty, might be withheld by the shame of having their crimes exposed to open view in the strongest colours, and themselves rendered odious to mankind. Perhaps all this may be little regarded by such hardened and abandoned natures as I have to deal with; but, next to taming or binding a savage animal, the best service you can do the neighbourhood, is to give them warning either to arm themselves or not come in its way.

Could I have hoped for any signs of remorse from the leaders of that faction, I should very gladly have changed my style, and forgot, or passed by, the million of enormities. But they are every day more fond of discovering their impotent zeal and malice: witness their conduct in the city about a fortnight

ago; which had no other end imaginable, besides that of perplexing our affairs, and endcavouring to make things desperate, that themselves may may be thought necessary. While they continue in this frantic mood, I shall not forbear to treat them as they deserve: that is to say, as the inveterate, irreconcilable enemies to our country and its constitution.

NUMBER XXXIX.

THURSDAY, May 3, 1711.

Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?

THERE have been certain topicks of reproach liberally bestowed, for some years past, by the *whigs* and *tories* upon each other. We charge the former with a design of destroying the *established church*, and introducing *fanaticism* and *free-thinking* in its stead. We accuse them as enemies to monarchy; as endeavouring to undermine the present form of government, and to build a commonwealth, or some new scheme of their own, upon its ruins. On the other side, their clamours against us may be summed up in those three formidable words, *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*. Our accusations against them we endeavour to make good by certain overt-acts; such as their perpetually abusing the whole body of the clergy, their declared contempt for the very order of priesthood, their aversion against episcopacy, the public encouragement and patronage they gave to *Tindal*, *Toland*, and other atheistical writers; their appearing as professed advocates retained by the dissenters, excusing their separation, and laying the guilt of it to the obstinacy of the church; their frequent endeavours to repeal the test, and their setting up the indulgence to

scrupulous consciences as a point of greater importance than the established worship. The regard they bear to our *monarchy* hath appeared by their open ridiculing the *martyrdom* of king *Charles I*, in their *calve's-head clubs*, their common discourses, and their pamphlets; their denying the unnatural war, raised against that prince, to have been a rebellion; their justifying his murder in the allowed papers of the week; their industry in publishing and spreading seditious and republican tracts, such as *Ludlow's Memoirs*, *Sydney of Government*, and many others; their endless lopping of the prerogative, and mincing into nothing her majesty's titles to the crown.

What proofs they bring for our endeavouring to introduce *popery*, *arbitrary power*, and the *pretender*, I cannot readily tell, and would be glad to hear. However, those important words having, by dextrous management, been found of mighty service to their cause, although applied with little colour, either of reason or justice; I have been considering, whether they may not be adapted to more proper objects.

As to *popery*, which is the first of these: to deal plainly, I can hardly think there is any sett of men among us, except the professors of it, who have any direct intention to introduce it here; but the question is, whether the principles and practices of us, or the *whigs*, be most likely to make way for it. It is allowed on all hands, that among the methods concerted at *Rome*, for bringing over *England*
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into the bosom of the catholic church, one of the chief was to send jesuits, and other emissaries, in lay habits; who, personating *tradesmen* and *mechanicks*, should mix with the people, and, under the pretence of a further and purer *reformation*, endeavour to divide us into as many sects as possible; which would either put us under the necessity of returning to our old errors to preserve *peace* at home; or by our *divisions* make way for some powerful neighbour, with the assistance of the *pope's* permission and a consecrated banner, to *pervert* and *enslave* us at once. If this hath been reckoned good politicks (and it was the best the *jesuit schools* could invent), I appeal to any man, whether the *whigs*, for many years past, have not been employed in the very same work? They professed, on all occasions, that they knew no reason why any one system of *speculative opinions* (as they term the doctrine of the church) should be established by law more than another; or why employments should be confined to the religion of the magistrate, and that called the *church established*. The grand maxim they laid down was, that no man, for the sake of a few *notions* and *ceremonies*, under the names of *doctrine* and *discipline*, should be denied the liberty of serving his country: as if places would go a begging, unless *brownists*, *familiists*, *sweet-singers*, *quakers*, *anabaptists*, and *mugletonians*, would take them off our hands.

I have been sometimes imagining this scheme brought to perfection, and how diverting it would be to see half a dozen *sweet-singers* on the bench in

their crimes, and two or three *quakers* with their white staves at court. I can only say, this project is the very counter-part of the late king *James's* design, which he took up as the best method for introducing his *own religion* under the pretext of an *universal liberty of conscience*; and that no difference of religion should make any in his favour. Accordingly, to save appearances, he dealt some employments among *dissenters* of most denominations; and what he did was, no doubt, in pursuance of the best advice he could get at home or abroad: but the church thought it the most dangerous step he could take for her destruction. It is true king *James* admitted *papists* among the rest, which the *whigs* would not: but this is sufficiently made up by a material circumstance, wherein they seem to have much out-done that prince, and to have carried their *liberty of conscience* to a higher point, having granted it to all the classes of *free-thinkers* (which the nice conscience of a *popish prince* would not give him leave to do) and were therein mightily overseen; because it is agreed by the learned, that there is but a very narrow step from *atheism* to the other extreme, *superstition*. So that, upon the whole, whether the *whigs* had any real design of bringing in *popery*, or no, it is very plain, that they took the most effectual step towards it: and if the *jesuits* had been their immediate directors, they could not have taught them better, nor have found apter scholars.

Their second accusation is, that we encourage and maintain arbitrary power in princes; and pro-

mote enslaving doctrines among the people. This they go about to prove by instances, producing the particular opinions of certain divines in king *Charles II's* reign, a decree of *Oxford university*, and some few writers since the *Revolution*. What they mean is the principle of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, which those who affirm, did, I believe, never intend should include *arbitrary power*. However, altho' I am sensible that it is not reckoned prudent in a dispute to make any concessions without the last necessity; yet I do agree, that, in my own private opinion, some writers did carry that tenet of *passive obedience* to a heighth which seemed hardly consistent with the liberties of a country, whose laws can neither be enacted nor repealed without the consent of the whole people; I mean not those, who affirm it due in general, as it certainly is, to the legislature; but such as fix it entirely in the prince's person. This last hath, I believe, been done by a very few; but when the whigs quote authors to prove it upon us, they bring in all who mention it as a duty in general, without applying it to princes abstracted from their senate.

By thus freely declaring my own sentiments of *passive obedience*, it will at least appear that I do not write for a party; neither do I, upon any occasion, pretend to speak their sentiments, but my own. The majority of the two houses, and the present ministry (if those be a party) seem to me, in all their proceedings, to pursue the real interest of church and state; and if I should happen to differ

differ from particular persons among them in a single notion about government, I suppose they will not, upon that account, explode me and my paper. However, as an answer once for all to the tedious scurrilities of those idle people, who affirm I am hired and directed what to write; I must here inform them, that their *censure* is an effect of their *principles*. The present ministry are under no necessity of employing prostitute pens; they have no dark designs to promote by advancing *heterodox opinions*.

But (to return) suppose two or three private divines, under king *Charles the second*, did a little overstrain the *doctrine of passive obedience* to princes; some allowance might be given to the memory of that *unnatural rebellion* against his father, and the dismal consequences of *resistance*. It is plain, by the proceedings of the church-men before and at the Revolution, that this doctrine was never designed to introduce *arbitrary power*.

I look upon the *whigs* and *dissenters* to be exactly of the same political faith; let us therefore see, what share each of them had in advancing *arbitrary power*. It is manifest, that the *fanaticks* made *Cromwell* the most absolute tyrant in *Christendom*. The *rump* abolished the *house of lords*, the *army* abolished the *rump*, and by this army of *saints* he governed. The *dissenters* took liberty of conscience and employments from the late king *James*, as an acknowledgment of his *dispensing power*; which makes a king of *England* as absolute as the *Turk*.

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The *whigs*, under the late king, perpetually declared for keeping up a standing army in times of peace; which hath in all ages been the first and great step to the ruin of liberty. They were besides discovering every day their inclinations to destroy the rights of the church, and declared their opinion in all companies against the bishops sitting in the *house of peers*; which was exactly copying after their predecessors of *forty-one*. I need not say, their real intentions were to make the king absolute; but whatever be the designs of innovating men, they usually end in a tyranny; as we may see by an hundred examples in *Greece*, and in the later commonwealths of *Italy* mentioned by *Machiavel*.

In the third place, the *whigs* accuse us of a design to bring in the *pretender*; and, to give it a greater air of probability, they suppose the QUEEN to be a party in this design; which however is no very extraordinary supposition in those, who have advanced such singular paradoxes concerning *Greg* and *Guiscard*. Upon this article their charge is general, without ever offering to produce an instance. But I verily think and believe, it will appear no paradox, that, if ever he be brought in, the *whigs* are his men. For first, it is an undoubted truth, that a year or two after the *Revolution*, several leaders of that party had their pardons sent them by the late king *James*; and had entered upon measures to restore him, on account of some disobligations they received from king
William.

William. Besides, I would ask, whether those who are under the greatest ties of gratitude to king *James*, are not, at this day, become the most zealous *whigs*? And of what party those are now, who kept a long correspondence with *St. Germain*?

It is likewise very observable of late, that the *whigs*, upon all occasions, profess their belief of the *pretender's* being no *impostor*, but a real *prince*, born of the late *QUEEN's* body.; which, whether it be true or false, is very unseasonably advanced, considering the weight such an opinion must have with the vulgar, if they once thoroughly believe it. Neither is it at all improbable, that the *pretender* himself put his chief hopes in the friendship he expects from the *dissenters* and *whigs*, by his choice to invade the kingdom, when the latter were most in credit; and he had reason to count upon the former by the gracious treatment they received from his supposed father, and their joyful acceptance of it. But farther, what could be more consistent with the *whiggish* notion of a *revolution-principle*, than to bring in the *pretender*? A *revolution-principle*, as their writings and discourses have taught us to define it, is a principle perpetually disposing men to *revolutions*: and this is suitable to the famous saying of a great *whig*, *that the more revolutions the better*; which, how odd a maxim soever in appearance, I take to be the true characteristick of the party.

A dog

A dog loves to turn round often; yet, after certain *revolutions*, he lies down to *rest*: but heads under the dominion of the *moon* are for perpetual *changes* and perpetual *revolutions*. Besides, the *whigs* owe all their wealth to *wars* and *revolutions*; like the girl at *Bartholomew-fair*, who gets a penny by turning round a hundred times with swords in her hands.

To conclude: The *whigs* have a natural faculty of bringing in *pretenders*, and will therefore probably endeavour to bring in the great one at last. How many *pretenders* to wit, honour, nobility, politics, have they brought in these last twenty years? In short, they have been sometimes able to procure a majority of *pretenders* in parliament; and wanted nothing to render the work complete, except a *pretender* at their head.

NUMBER XL.

THURSDAY, May 10, 1711.

Dos est magna parentium virtus.

I Took up a paper [r] some days ago in the coffee-house; and if the correctness of the style, and a superior spirit in it, had not immediately undeceived me, I should have been apt to imagine I had been reading an *Examiner*. In this paper there were several important propositions advanced. For instance, that *Providence raised up Mr. Harley to be an instrument of great good, in a critical juncture, when it was much wanted.* That his very enemies acknowledge his eminent abilities, and distinguished merit, by their unwearied and restless endeavours against his person and reputation; that they have had an inveterate malice against both; that he hath been wonderfully preserved from some unparalleled attempts, with more to the same purpose. I immediately computed, by rules of arithmetick, that, in the last-cited words, there was something more intended than the attempt of *Guiscard*, which I think can possibly pass but for *one* of the *SOME*. And although I dare not pretend to guess the author's meaning; yet the expression allows such a

[r] The speaker's congratulation of Mr. *Harley*, in the name of the house, on his escape and recovery. See the next number.

latitude,

latitude, that I would venture to hold a wager, most readers, both *whig* and *tory*, have agreed with me, that this plural number must, in all probability, among other facts, take in the business of *Greg*.

See now the difference of style. Had I been to have told my thoughts on this occasion; instead of saying Mr. *Harley* was *treated by some persons*, and *preserved from some unparalleled attempts*, I should, with intolerable bluntness and ill-manners, have told a formal story of a committee sent to a condemned criminal in *Newgate*, to bribe him with a pardon, on condition he would swear high-treason against his master, who discovered his correspondence and secured his person, when a *certain grave politician* had given him warning to make his escape: and by this means I should have drawn a whole swarm of hedge-writers to exhaust their catalogue of scurrilities against me, as a liar and a slanderer. But, with submission to the author of that forementioned paper, I think he hath carried that expression to the utmost it will bear; for, after all this noise, I know but of *two attempts* against Mr. *Harley*, that can really be called *unparalleled*, which are those aforesaid of *Greg* and *Guiscard*; for as to the rest, I will engage to *parallel* them from the story of *Catiline*, and others I could produce.

However, I cannot but observe with infinite pleasure, than a great part of what I have charged upon the late prevailing faction, and for affirming which I have been adorned with so many decent epithets, hath been sufficiently confirmed at several

times by the resolutions of one or the other house of parliament. I may therefore now say, I hope, with good authority, that *there have been some unparalleled attempts against Mr. Harley*; that the late ministry were justly to blame in some management, which occasioned the unfortunate battle of *Almanza*, and the disappointment at *Thoulon*; that the publick hath been grievously wronged by most notorious frauds during the *whig administration*; that those, who advised the bringing in the *Palatines*, were enemies to the kingdom; that the late managers of the revenue have not duly passed their accounts for a great part of thirty-five millions, and ought not to be trusted in such employments any more. Perhaps, in a little time, I may venture to affirm some other paradoxes of this kind, and produce the same vouchers. And perhaps also, if it had not been so busy a period, instead of one *Examiner*, the late ministry might have had above four hundred, each of whose little fingers would be heavier than my loins. It makes me think of *Neptune's* threat to the winds:

Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus.

Thus, when the sons of *Æolus* had almost sunk the ship with the tempests they raised, it was necessary to smoothe the ocean, and secure the vessel, instead of pursuing the offenders.

But I observe the general expectation at present, instead of dwelling any longer upon conjectures

tures who is to be punished for past miscarriages, seems bent upon the rewards intended to those, who have been so highly instrumental in rescuing our constitution from its late dangers. It is the observation of *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, that his eminent services had raised a general opinion of his being designed by the emperor for *prætor* of Britain: *Nullus in hoc suis sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur*; and then he adds, *Non semper errat Fama, aliquando et eligit*. The judgment of a wise prince, and the general disposition of the people, do often point at the same person; and sometimes the popular wishes do even foretel the reward intended for some superior merit. Thus, among several deserving persons, there are *two*, whom the public vogue hath, in a peculiar manner, singled out as designed very soon to receive the choicest marks of the royal favour. *One* of them to be placed in a very high station, and *both* to increase the number of our nobility [s]. This, I say, is the general conjecture; for I pretend to none, nor will be chargeable if it be not fulfilled; since it is enough for their honour, that the nation thinks them worthy of the greatest rewards.

Upon this occasion I cannot but take notice, that of all the heresies in politicks profusely scattered by the partisans of the *late administration*, none ever displeased me more, or seemed to have more dangerous consequences to *monarchy*, than

[s] *Harley* and *St. John*.

that pernicious talent so much affected of discovering a contempt for *birth*, *family*, and *ancient nobility*. All the threadbare topicks of *poets* and *orators* were displayed to discover to us, that *merit* and *virtue* were the only *nobility*; and that the advantages of *blood* could not make a *knave* or a *fool* either honest or wise. Most popular commotions we read of in the histories of *Greece* and *Rome* took their rise from unjust quarrels to the *nobles*; and in the latter, the *Plebeians* encroachments on the *Patricians* were the first cause of their ruin.

Suppose there be nothing but *opinion* in the difference of blood; every body knows, that *authority* is very much founded on *opinion*. But surely that difference is not wholly imaginary. The advantages of a liberal education, of chusing the best companions to converse with, not being under the necessity of practising little mean tricks by a scanty allowance, the enlarging of thought, and acquiring the knowledge of men and things by travel, the example of ancestors inciting to great and good actions; these are usually some of the opportunities that fall in the way of those who are born of what we call the better families: and allowing *genius* to be equal in them and the vulgar, the odds are clearly on their side. Nay, we may observe in some, who, by the appearance of merit, or favour of fortune, have risen to great stations from an obscure birth, that they have still retained some sordid vices of their *parentage* or *education*,

either *insatiable avarice*, or *ignominious falsehood* and *corruption*.

To say the truth, the great neglect of education in several noble families, whose sons are suffered to pass the more improveable seasons of their youth in vice and idleness, have too much lessened their reputation: but even this misfortune we owe, among all the rest, to that *whiggish* practice of reviling the *universities*, under the pretence of their instilling *pedantry*, *narrow principles*, and *high-church doctrines*.

I would not be thought to undervalue *merit* and *virtue*, wherever they are to be found; but will allow them capable of the highest dignities in a state, when they are in a very great degree of eminence. A pearl holds its value, though it be found in a dunghill; but however, that is not the most probable place to search for it. Nay, I will go farther, and admit, that a man of quality without *merit* is just so much the worse for his quality; which at once sets his vices in a more public view, and reproacheth him for them. But on the other side, I doubt those, who are always undervaluing the advantages of birth, and celebrating personal merit, have principally an eye to their own, which they are fully satisfied with, and which nobody will dispute with them about: whereas they cannot, without impudence and folly, pretend to be nobly born; because this is a secret too easily discovered: for no men's parentage is so nicely enquired into as that of assuming

upstarts, especially when they affect to make it better than it is, as they often do, or behave themselves with insolence.

But whatever may be the opinion of others upon this subject, whose philosophical scorn for *blood* and *families* reacheth even to those that are *royal*, or perhaps took its rise from a *whiggish* contempt of the latter: I am pleased to find *two* such instances of extraordinary merit, as I have mentioned, joined with ancient and honourable birth; which, whether it be of real or imaginary value, hath been held in veneration by all wise polite states both ancient and modern. And, as much a soppery as men pretend to think it, nothing is more observable in those who rise to great place or wealth from mean originals, than their mighty solicitude to convince the world, that they are not so low as is commonly believed. They are glad to find it made out by some strained genealogy, that they have some remote alliance with better families. *Cromwell* himself was pleased with the impudence of a flatterer, who undertook to prove him descended from a branch of the royal stem. I know a *citizen*, who adds or alters a letter in his name with every *plumb* he acquires; he now wants only the change of a vowel [*t*] to be allied to a sovereign prince in *Italy* [*u*]; and that perhaps he may contrive to be done by a *mistake* of the graver upon his *tombstone*.

[*r*] Sir *H. Furnese*,

[*u*] *Farnese*.

When

When I am upon this subject of *nobility*, I am sorry for the occasion given me to mention the loss of a *person*, who was so great an ornament to it, as the late *lord president* [w]; who began early to distinguish himself in the *public service*, and passed through the highest employments of state, in the most difficult times, with great *abilities* and untainted *honour*. As he was of a good old age, his principles of religion and loyalty had received no mixture from *late infusions*, but were instilled into him by his illustrious father, and other noble spirits, who had exposed their lives and fortunes for the *royal martyr* :

*Pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis.*

His first great action was, like *Scipio*, to defend his father when oppressed by numbers; and his filial piety was not only rewarded with long life, but with a son, who, upon the like occasion, would have shewn the same resolution. No man ever preserved his dignity better when he was out of power, nor shewed more affability while he was in. To conclude, his character (which I do not here pretend to draw) is such as his nearest friends may safely trust to his most impartial pen; nor wants the least of that allowance which, they say, is required for those who are dead.

[w] Earl of Rochester.

NUMBER XLI.

THURSDAY, May 17, 1711.

*Quem cur distringere coner,
Tutus ab infestis latronibus?*

I Never let slip an opportunity of endeavouring to convince the world that I am not partial; and to confound the idle reproach of my being hired or directed what to write in defence of the present ministry, or for detecting the practices of the former. When I first undertook this paper, I firmly resolved, that, if ever I observed any gross neglect, abuse, or corruption in the public management, which might give any just offence to reasonable people; I would take notice of it with that innocent boldness, which becometh an honest man and a true lover of his country; at the same time preserving the respect due to persons so highly entrusted by so wise and excellent a QUEEN. I know not how such a liberty might have been resented; but, I thank God, there hath been no occasion given me to exercise it; for I can safely affirm, that I have, with the utmost rigour, examined all the actions of the present ministry, as far as they fall under general cognizance, without being able to accuse them of one ill or mistaken step. Observing indeed some time ago, that seeds of dissension had been plentifully scattered from a
certain

certain corner, and fearing they began to rise and spread, I immediately writ a paper on the subject, which I treated with that warmth I thought it required ; but the prudence of those at the helm soon prevented this growing evil ; and at present it seems likely to have no consequences.

I have had, indeed, for some time, a small occasion of quarrelling, which I thought too inconsiderable for a formal subject of complaint, although I have hinted at it more than once. But it is grown at present to as great a height, as a matter of that nature can possibly bear ; and therefore I conceive it high time that an effectual stop should be put to it. I have been amazed at the flaming licentiousness of several weekly papers, which, for some months past, have been chiefly employed in bare-faced scurrilities against those who are in the greatest trust and favour with the QUEEN ; with the first and last letters of their names frequently printed, or some *periphrasis* describing their station, or other *innuendo's* contrived too plain to be mistaken. The consequence of which is (and it is natural it should be so) that their long impunity hath rendered them still more audacious.

At this time, I particularly intend a paper called the *Medley*, whose indefatigable incessant railings against me I never thought convenient to take notice of, because it would have diverted my design, which I intended to be of public use. Besides, I never yet observed that writer, or those writers
(for

(for it is every way a *Medley*), to argue against any one material point or fact that I had advanced, or make one fair quotation. And after all, I knew very well how soon the world grows weary of controversy. It is plain to me, that three or four hands at least have been joined at times in that worthy composition; but the out-lines, as well as the finishing, seem to have been always the work of the same pen, as it is visible from half a score beauties of style inseparable from it. But who these *Medlers* are, or where the judicious leaders have picked them up, I shall never go about to conjecture: factious rancour, false wit, abandoned scurrility, impudent falsehood, and servile pedantry, having so many fathers, and so few to own them, that curiosity herself would not be at the pains to guess. It is the first time I ever did myself the honour to mention that admirable paper; nor could I imagine any occasion likely to happen, that would make it necessary for me to engage with such an adversary. This paper is weekly published, and, as appears by the number, hath been so for several months; and is, next to the *Observer*, allowed to be the best production of the party. Last week my printer brought me that of *May 7*, Number 32, where there are two paragraphs relating to the *speaker* of the house of commons, and to Mr. *Harley*, which, as little as I am inclined to engage with such an antagonist, I cannot let pass without failing in my duty to the publick: and if those in power will suffer such infamous in-

finuations to pass with impunity, they act without precedent from any age or country in the world,

I desire to open this matter, and leave the *whigs* themselves to determine upon it. The house of commons resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that the *speaker* should congratulate Mr. *Harley's* escape and recovery in the name of the house upon his first attendance on their service. This is accordingly done; and the speech, together with the chancellor of the *Exchequer's*, are printed by order of the house. The author of the *Medley* takes this speech to task the very next week after it is published; telling us in the aforesaid paper, that the *speaker's* commending Mr. *Harley* for being an instrument of great good to the nation, was ill-chosen flattery; because Mr. *Harley* had brought the nation under great difficulties, to say no more. He says, that when the speaker tells Mr. *Harley*, that Providence hath wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts (for that the *Medley* alludes to) he only revives a false and groundless calumny upon other men; which is an instance of impotent, but inveterate malice that makes him [the speaker] still appear more vile and contemptible. This is an extract from his first paragraph. In the next this writer says, that the speaker's praying to God for the continuance of Mr. *Harley's* life, as an invaluable blessing, was a fulsome piece of insincerity, which exposes him to shame and derision; because he is known to bear ill-will to Mr. *Harley*, to have an extreme bad opinion of him,

and

and to think him an obstructor of those fine measures he would bring about.

I now appeal to the *whigs* themselves, whether a great minister of state in high favour with the QUEEN, and a *speaker* of the house of commons, were ever publicly treated after so extraordinary a manner in the most licentious times? For this is not a clandestine libel stolen into the world, but openly printed and sold with the bookseller's name and place of abode at the bottom. And the juncture is admirable, when Mr. *Harley* is generally believed upon the very point to be made an *earl*, and promoted to the most important station of the kingdom; nay, the very marks of esteem he hath so lately received from the whole representative body of the people, are called *ill-chosen flattery*, and a *fulsome piece of insincerity*, exposing the donors to *shame and derision*.

But does this intrepid writer think he hath sufficiently disguised the matter by that stale artifice of altering the story, and putting it as a supposed case. Did any man, who ever saw the congratulatory speech, read either of those paragraphs in the *Medley* without interpreting them just as I have done? Will the author declare, upon his great sincerity, that he never had any such meaning? Is it enough, that a jury at *Westminster-hall* would perhaps not find him guilty of defaming the *speaker* and Mr. *Harley* in that paper? Which, however, I am much in doubt of too; and must think the law very defective, if the reputation of
such

such persons must lie at the mercy of such pens. I do not remember to have seen any libel, supposed to be writ with caution and double meaning in order to prevent prosecution, delivered under so thin a cover, or so unartificially made up as this, whether it were from an apprehension of his readers dulness or an effect of his own. He hath transcribed the very phrases of the *speaker*, and put them in a different character, for fear they might pass unobserved, and to prevent all possibility of being mistaken. I shall be pleased to see him have recourse to the old evasion, and say, that I who make the application am chargeable with the abuse: let any reader of either party be judge. But I cannot forbear asserting as my opinion, that, for a ministry to endure such open calumny, without calling the author to account, is next to deserving it. And this is an omission I venture to charge upon the present ministry, who are too apt to despise little things, which however have not always little consequences.

When this paper was first undertaken, one design among others was to *examine* some of those writings so frequently published with an evil tendency either to religion or government; but I was long diverted by other enquiries, which I thought more immediately necessary, to animadvert upon men's actions, rather than their speculations; to shew the necessity there was of changing the ministry, that our constitution in church and state might be preserved; to expose some dangerous principles

principles and practices under the former administration; and prove, by many instances, that those who are now at the helm, are entirely in the true interest of prince and people. This, I may modestly hope, hath, in some measure, been already done, sufficient to answer the end proposed, which was to inform the ignorant, and those at a distance, and to convince such as are engaged in party from no other motive than that of conscience. I know not whether I shall have any appetite to continue this work much longer; if I do, perhaps some time may be spent in exposing and overturning the false reasonings of those who engage their pens on the other side, without losing time in vindicating myself against their scurrilities, much less in retorting them. Of this sort there is a certain humble companion, a *French maitre des langues* [x], who every month published an extract from votes, news-papers, speeches, and proclamations, larded with some insipid remarks of his own; which he calls, *The political state of Great-Britain*. This ingenious piece, he tells us himself, is constantly translated into *French*, and printed in *Holland*, where the *Dutch*, no doubt, conceive most noble sentiments of us, conveyed through such a vehicle. It is observable in his account for *April*, that the vanity so predominant in many of his nation hath made him more concerned for the honour of *Guiscard*, than the safety of Mr. *Harley*. And for fear

[x] One *Abel Byer*.

we should think the worse of his country upon that *assassin's* account, he tells us there have been more murders, parricides, and villanies committed in *England* than any other part of the world. I cannot imagine how an illiterate foreigner, who is neither master of our language, nor indeed of common sense; and who is devoted to a faction, I suppose for no other reason, but his having more *whig* customers than *tories*, should take it into his head to write political tracts of our affairs. But, I presume, he builds upon the foundation of having been called to an account for his insolence in one of his former monthly productions; which is a method that seldom fails of giving some vogue to the foolishness composition. If such a work must be done, I wish some tolerable hand would undertake it; and that we would not suffer a little whiffling *Frenchman* to neglect his trade of teaching his language to our children, and presume to instruct foreigners in our politicks.

NUMBER XLII.

THURSDAY, May 24, 1711.

*Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ac desque labentes deorum;*

SEVERAL letters have been lately sent me, desiring I would make honourable mention of the pious design of building fifty churches in several parts of *London* and *Westminster*, where they are most wanted, occasioned by an address of the *convocation* to the QUEEN, and recommended by her majesty to the house of commons; who immediately promised they *would enable her to accomplish so excellent a design*, and are now preparing a bill accordingly. I thought to have deferred any notice of this important affair until the end of this session: at which time I proposed to deliver a particular account of the great and useful things already performed by this present parliament. But, in compliance to those who give themselves the trouble of advising me, and partly convinced by the reasons they offer, I am content to bestow a paper upon a subject that indeed so well deserveth it.

The clergy, and whoever else have a true concern for the constitution of the church, cannot but be highly pleased with one prospect in this new scene

scene of public affairs. They may very well remember the time, when every session of parliament was like a cloud hanging over their heads; and if it happened to pass without bursting into some storm upon the church, we thanked God, and thought it an happy escape until the next meeting; upon which we resumed our secret apprehensions, although we were not allowed to believe any danger. Things are now altered; the parliament takes the necessities of the church into consideration, receives the proposals of the clergy met in convocation, and, amidst all the exigencies of a long expensive war, and under the pressure of heavy debts, finds a supply for erecting fifty edifices for the service of God. And it appears, by the address of the commons to her majesty upon this occasion (wherein they discovered a true spirit of religion), that applying the money granted to *accomplish so excellent a design*, would, in their opinion, be the most effectual way of carrying on the war; that it would (to use their own words) *be a means of drawing down blessings on her majesty's undertakings, as it adds to the number of those places, where the prayers of her devout and faithful subjects will be daily offered up to God, for the prosperity of her government at home, and the success of her arms abroad.*

I am sometimes hoping, that we are not naturally so bad a people as we have appeared for some years past. *Faction*, in order to support itself, is generally forced to make use of such abominable in-

struments, that, as long as it prevails, the genius of a nation is over-pressed, and cannot appear to exert itself; but when that is broken and suppressed, when things return to the old course, mankind will naturally fall to act from principles of reason and religion. The *Romans*, upon a great victory or escape from public danger, frequently built a temple in honour of some god, to whose peculiar favour they imputed their success or delivery: and sometimes the *general* did the like, at *his own expence*, to acquit himself of some pious vow he had made. How little of any thing resembling this hath been done by us after all our victories! And perhaps for that reason among others they have turned to so little account. But what could we expect? We acted all along as if we believed nothing of a God, or his providence; and therefore it was consistent to offer up our edifices only to *those*, whom we looked upon as *givers of all victory* in his stead.

I have computed that fifty churches may be built, by a medium, at six thousand pounds for a church, which is somewhat *under* the price of a *subject's palace*; yet perhaps the care of above two hundred thousand souls, with the benefit of their prayers for the prosperity of their QUEEN and country, may be almost put in the balance with the domestic convenience, or even magnificence, of any *subject* whatsoever.

Sir *William Petty*, who, under the name of captain *Graunt*, published some observations upon the
bills

bills of mortality about five years after the *Restoration*, tells us the parishes in *London* were even then so unequally divided, that some were two hundred times larger than others. Since that time, the increase of trade, the frequency of parliaments, the desire of living in the metropolis, together with that genius for building which began after the *fire*, and hath ever since continued, have prodigiously enlarged this town on all sides, where it was capable of increase; and those tracts of land built into streets have generally continued of the same parish they belonged to while they lay in fields; so that the care of above thirty thousand souls hath been sometimes committed to one minister, whose church would hardly contain the twentieth part of his flock: neither, I think, was any family in those parishes obliged to pay above a groat a year to their spiritual pastor. Some few of those parishes have been since divided; in others were erected chapels of ease, where a preacher is maintained by general contribution. Such poor shifts and expedients, to the infinite shame and scandal of so vast and flourishing a city, have been thought sufficient for the service of God and religion, as if they were circumstances wholly indifferent.

This defect, among other consequences of it, hath made *schism* a sort of necessary evil; there being at least three hundred thousand inhabitants in this town, whom the churches would not be able

to contain, if the people were ever so well disposed : and in a city not overstocked with zeal, the only way to preserve any degree of religion, is to make all attendance upon the duties of it as easy and cheap as possible ; whereas, on the contrary, in the largest parishes, the press is so great, and the pew-keepers tax so exorbitant, that those who love to save trouble and money, either stay at home or retire to the *conventicles*. I believe there are few examples, in any *christian* country, of so great a neglect of religion ; and the dissenting teachers have made their advantage largely by it, *sowing tares among the wheat while men slept*, being much more expert at procuring contributions, which is a trade they are bred up in, than men of a liberal education.

And to say truth, the way practised by several parishes in and about this town, of maintaining their clergy by voluntary subscriptions, is not only an indignity to the character, but hath many pernicious consequences attending it ; such a precarious dependence subjecting a clergyman, who hath not more than ordinary spirit and resolution, to many inconveniences, which are obvious to imagine ; but this defect will, no doubt, be remedied by the wisdom and piety of the present parliament ; and a tax laid upon every house in a parish for the support of their pastor. Neither indeed can it be conceived, why a house, whose purchase is not reckoned above one third less than land of the same

same yearly rent, should not pay a twentieth part annually (which is half tithe) to the support of the minister. One thing I could wish, that, in fixing the maintenance to the several ministers in these new-intended parishes, no determinate sum of money may be named, which in all perpetuities ought by any means to be avoided; but rather a tax in proportion to the rent of each house, although it be but a twentieth, or even a thirtieth part. The contrary of this, I am told, was done in several parishes of the city after the *fire*, where the incumbent and his successors were to receive for ever a certain sum; for example, one or two hundred pounds a year. But the lawgivers did not consider, that what we call at present one hundred pounds will not, in process of time, have the intrinsic value of twenty; as twenty pounds now are hardly equal to forty shillings three hundred years ago. There are a thousand instances of this all over *England*, in reserved rents applied to hospitals, in old chiefries, and even among the clergy themselves, in those payments which, I think, they call a *modus*.

As no prince had ever better dispositions than her present majesty for the advancement of true religion; so there never was any age, that produced greater occasions to employ them on. It is an unspeakable misfortune, that any design of so excellent a QUEEN should be checked by the necessities of a long and ruinous war, which the folly or cor-

ruption of *modern politicians* have involved us in, against all the maxims, whereby our country flourished so many hundred years : else her majesty's care of religion would certainly have reached even to her *American* plantations. Those noble countries, stocked by numbers from hence, whereof too many are in no very great reputation for faith or morals, will be a perpetual reproach to us, until some better care be taken for cultivating *christianity* among them. If the governors of those several colonies were obliged at certain times to transmit an exact representation of the state of religion in their several districts, and the legislature here would, in a time of leisure, take that affair under their consideration, it might be perfected with little difficulty, and be a great addition to the glories of her majesty's reign.

But, to wave further speculations upon so remote a scene, while we have subjects enough to employ them on at home : it is to be hoped the clergy will not slip any proper opportunity of improving the pious dispositions of the QUEEN and kingdom for the advantage of the church ; when, by the example of times past, they consider how rarely such conjunctures are like to happen. What if some method were thought on towards repairing of churches ; for which there is like to be too frequent occasion ; those ancient *gothic* structures throughout this kingdom going every year to decay ? That expedient of repairing or rebuilding them by
charitable

charitable collections seems, in my opinion, not very suitable either to the dignity and usefulness of the work, or to the honour of our country; since it might be so easily done, with very little charge to the publick, in a much more decent and honourable manner, while parliaments are so frequently called. But these and other regulations must be left to a time of *peace*, which I shall humbly presume to wish may soon be our share, however offensive it may be to any, either *abroad* or at *home*, who are gainers by the war.

NUMBER XLIII.

THURSDAY, May 31, 1711.

Scilicet, ut possis curvo dignoscere rectum.

HAVING been forced in my papers to use the cant-words of *whig* and *tory*, which have so often varied their significations for twenty years past; I think it necessary to say something of the several changes those two terms have undergone since that period; and then to tell the reader what I have always understood by each of them, since I undertook this work. I reckon that these sorts of conceited appellations are usually invented by the vulgar; who, not troubling themselves to examine thoroughly the merits of a cause, are consequently the most violent partisans of what they espouse, and in their quarrels usually proceed to their beloved argument of calling *names*, until at length they light upon one which is sure to stick: and in time each party grows proud of that appellation, which their adversaries at first intended for a reproach. Of this kind were the *Prasini* and *Veneti*, the *Guelfs* and *Gibelines*, *Hugonots* and *Papists*, *Round-heads* and *Cavaliers*, with many others of ancient and modern date. Among us of late there seems to have been a barrenness of invention in this point; the words *whig* and *tory*, although they are not much above thirty years old, having
been

been pressed to the service of many successions of parties, with very different ideas fastened to them. This distinction, I think, began towards the latter part of king *Charles* the second's reign, was dropt during that of his successor, and then revived at the *Revolution*; since which it hath perpetually flourished, although applied to very different kinds of principles and persons. In that convention of lords and commons, some of both houses were for a *regency* to the prince of *Orange*, with a reservation of style and title to the absent king, which should be made use of in all public acts: others, when they were brought to allow the throne vacant, thought the succession should immediately go to the next heir, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, as if the last king were actually dead. And although the dissenting lords (in whose house the chief opposition was) did at last yield both those points, took the oaths to the new king, and many of them employments; yet they were looked upon with an evil eye by the warm zealots of the other side; neither did the court ever heartily favour any of them, although some of them were of the most eminent for abilities and virtue, and served that prince both in his councils and his army with untainted faith. It was apprehended at the same time, and perhaps it might have been true, that many of the clergy would have been better pleased with the scheme of a *regency*, or at least an uninterrupted lineal succession, for the sake of those whose consciences

were

were truly *scrupulous*; and they thought there were some circumstances in the case of the deprived bishops, that looked a little hard, or at least deserved commiseration.

These and other the like reflexions did, as I conceive, revive the denominations of *whig* and *tory*.

Some time after the Revolution, the distinction of *high* and *low* church came in, which was raised by the dissenters in order to break the church party by dividing the members into *high* or *low*; and the opinions raised, that the *high* joined with the *papists*, inclined the *low* to fall in with the *dissenters*.

And here I shall take leave to produce some principles, which, in the several periods of the late reign, served to denote a man of one or the other party. To be against a standing army in time of peace, was all *high-church*, *tory*, and *tantivy*; to differ from a majority of bishops, was the same. To raise the prerogative above law for serving a turn, was *low-church* and *whig*. The opinion of the majority, in the house of commons, especially of the country party or landed interest, was *high-flying* and *rank tory*. To exalt the king's supremacy beyond all precedent, was *low-church*, *whiggish*, and *moderate*. To make the least doubt of the pretended prince's being supposititious and a *tiler's* son, was, in their phrase, *top* and *top-gallant*, and *perfect jacobitism*. To resume the most exorbitant grants, that were ever given to a set of profligate favourites, and apply them to the publick, was the very quintessence of *toryism*; notwithstanding

ing those grants were known to be acquired by sacrificing the honour and the wealth of *England*.

In most of these principles the two parties seem to have shifted opinions, since their institution under king *Charles* the second; and indeed to have gone very different from what was expected from each, even at the time of the *Revolution*. But as to that concerning the *pretender*, the *whigs* have so far renounced it, that they are grown the great advocates for his legitimacy: which gives me the opportunity of vindicating a noble duke, who was accused of a blunder in the house, when, upon a certain lord's mentioning the *pretended prince*, his grace told the lords *he must be plain with them, and call that person not the pretended prince, but the pretended impostor*: which was so far from a blunder in that polite lord, as his ill-willers give out, that it was only a refined way of delivering the avowed sentiments of his whole party.

But to return: this was the state of principles, when the *QUEEN* came to the crown; some time after which it pleased *certain great persons*, who had been all their lives in the altitude of *tory* profession, to enter into a treaty with the *whigs*, from whom they could get better terms than from their old friends, who began to be resty, and would not allow monopolies of power and favour, nor consent to carry on the war intirely at the expence of the nation, that they might have pensions from abroad; while another people, more immediately concerned in the war, traded with the enemy as in times
of

of peace ; whereas the other party, whose case appeared then as desperate, was ready to yield to any conditions that would bring them into play. And I cannot help affirming, that this nation was made a sacrifice to the unmeasurable appetite of power and wealth in *a very few*, that shall be nameless, who, in every step they made, acted directly against what they had always professed. And if his royal highness the prince [y] had died some years sooner (who was a perpetual check in their career) it is dreadful to think how far they might have proceeded.

Since that time the bulk of the *whigs* appeareth rather to be linked to a certain sett of *persons*, than any certain sett of *principles* ; so that, if I were to define a member of that party, I should say, he was one *who believed in the late ministry*. And therefore whatever I have affirmed of *whigs* in any of these papers or objected against them, ought to be understood either of those who were partisans of the late men in power and privy to their designs, or such who joined with them from a hatred to our monarchy and church, as unbelievers and dissenters of all sizes ; or men in office, who had been guilty of much corruption, and dreaded a change, which would not only put a stop to further abuses for the future, but might perhaps introduce examinations of what was past ; or those who had been too highly obliged to quit their sup-

[y] Prince George of Denmark.

porters

porters with any common decency; or lastly, the *money-traders*, who could never hope to make their markets so well of *premiums*, and exorbitant interest, and high remittances, by any other administration.

Under these heads may be reduced the whole body of those, whom I have all along understood for *whigs*; for I do not include within this number any of those who have been misled by ignorance, or seduced by plausible pretences, to think better of that sort of men than they deserve, and to apprehend mighty dangers from their disgrace; because, I believe, the greatest part of such well-meaning people are now thoroughly converted.

And indeed it must be allowed, that the two fantastic names of *whig* and *tory* have at present very little relation to those opinions, which were at first thought to distinguish them. Whoever formerly professed himself to approve the *Revolution*, to be against the *pretender*, to justify the succession in the house of *Hanover*, to think the *British* monarchy not absolute, but limited by laws which the executive power could not dispense with, and to allow an indulgence to scrupulous consciences; such a man was content to be called a *whig*. On the other side, whoever asserted the *QUEEN's* hereditary right, that the persons of princes were sacred, their lawful authority not to be resisted on any pretence; nor even their usurpations, without the most extreme necessity; that breaches in the succession were highly dangerous; that *schism* was a great

great evil, both in itself and its consequences ; that the ruin of the *church* would probably be attended with that of the *state* ; that no power should be trusted with those who are not of the established religion : such a man was usually called a *tory*. Now, although the opinions of both these are very *extraneous*, and I really think are maintained at present by a great majority of the kingdom ; yet *unwilling* men apprehend the danger greater, either from the *pretender* and his party, or from the violence and cunning of other *enemies* to the constitution, so their common discourses and reasonings turn either to the first or second sett of these opinions I have mentioned, and they are consequently styled either *whigs* or *tories*. Which is as if two *brothers* apprehended their house would be set upon, but disagreed about the place from whence they thought the *robbers* would come, and therefore would go different sides to defend it ; they must needs weaken and expose themselves by such a *separation* ; and so did we, only our case was worse ; for in order to keep off a *weak remote enemy*, from whom we could not suddenly apprehend any danger, we took a *nearer* and a *stronger* one into the *house*. I make no comparison at all between the two enemies ; *popery* and *slavery* are without doubt the greatest and most dreadful of any ; but I may venture to affirm, that the fears of these have not, at least since the *Revolution*, been so close and pressing upon us as that from *another faction* ; excepting only one short period, when the leaders

of

of that very faction invited the abdicating king to return ; of which I have formerly taken notice.

Having thus declared, what sort of persons I have always meant under the denomination of *whigs*, it will be easy to shew whom I understand by *tories*. Such whose principles in church and state are what I have above related ; whose actions are derived from thence, and who have no attachment to any sect of *ministers*, further than as they are friends to the constitution in all its parts ; but will do their utmost to save their prince and country, *whoever* be at the helm.

By these descriptions of *whig* and *tory*, I am sensible those names are given to several persons very undeservedly ; and that many a man is called by one or the other, who has not the least title to the blame or praise I have bestowed on each of them throughout my papers.

NUMBER XLIV.

THURSDAY, June 7, 1711.

Magna vis est magnum nomen, unum et idem sentientis senatus.

WHOEVER calls to mind the clamour and the calumny, the artificial fears and jealousies, the shameful misrepresentation of persons and of things, that were raised and spread by the leaders and instruments of a *certain party*, upon the change of the last ministry and dissolution of parliament; if he be a true lover of his country, must feel a mighty pleasure, although mixed with some indignation, to see the wishes, the conjectures, the endeavours of an inveterate faction intirely disappointed; and this important period wholly spent in restoring the prerogative of the prince, and liberty to the subject; in reforming past abuses and preventing future, supplying old deficiencies, providing for debts, restoring the clergy to their rights, and taking care of the necessities of the church; and all this unattended with any of those misfortunes, which some men *hoped* for, while they pretended to *fear*.

For my own part, I must confess, the difficulties appeared so great to me from such a noise and shew of opposition, that I thought nothing but the ab-

solute necessity of affairs could ever justify so daring an attempt. But a wise and good prince, at the head of an able ministry, and of a senate freely chosen, all united to pursue the true interest of their country, is a power, against which the little inferior politicks of any faction will be able to make no long resistance. To this we may add one additional strength, which, in the opinion of our adversaries, is the greatest and justest of any; I mean the *vox populi*, so indisputably declarative, on the same side. I am apt to believe, when these discarded politicians begin seriously to consider all this, they will think it proper to give out, and reserve their wisdom for some more convenient juncture.

It is pleasant enough to observe, that those who were the chief instruments of raising the noise, who started fears, bespoke dangers, and formed ominous prognosticks, in order to scare the *allies*, to spirit the *French*, and fright ignorant people at home, made use of those very opinions themselves had broached, for arguments to prove, that the change of ministers was dangerous and unseasonable. But if a house be *swept*, the more occasion there is for such a work, the more *dust* it will raise; if it be going to *ruin*, the *repairs*, however necessary, will *make a noise*, and *disturb the neighbourhood* a while. And as to the rejoicings made in *France*, if it be true that they had any, upon the news of those alterations among us; their joy was grounded upon the *same hopes* with that of the

whigs, who comforted themselves, that the change of ministry and parliament would infallibly put us all into confusion, increase our divisions, and destroy our credit, wherein I suppose by this time they are *equally* undeceived.

But this long session being in a manner ended, which several circumstances, and one *accident* altogether unforeseen, have drawn out beyond the usual time ; it may be some small piece of justice to so excellent an assembly barely to mention a few of those great things they have done for the service of their QUEEN and country, which I shall take notice of just as they come to my memory.

The credit of the nation began mightily to suffer by a discount upon *Exchequer* bills, which have been generally reckoned the surest and most sacred of all securities. The present *lord treasurer*, then a member of the house of commons, proposed a method, which was immediately complied with, of raising them to a *par* with *specie* ; and so they have ever since continued.

The *British* colonies of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's* had been miserably plundered by the *French*, their houses burnt, their plantations destroyed, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners ; they had often, for some years past, applied in vain for relief from hence ; until the present parliament, considering their condition as a case of justice and mercy, voted them one hundred thousand pounds, by way of recompence in some manner for their sufferings.

Some

Some persons, whom the voice of the nation authorizes me to call her *enemies*, taking advantage of the general naturalization act, had invited over a great number of foreigners of all religions, under the name of *Palatines*, who understood no trade or handicraft, yet rather chose to beg than labour; who, besides infesting our streets, bred contagious diseases, by which we lost in *natives* thrice the number of what we gained in *foreigners*. The house of commons, as a remedy against this evil, brought in a bill for repealing that act of general naturalization; which, to the surprize of most people, was rejected by the lords. And upon this occasion I must allow myself to have been justly rebuked by one of my weekly monitors for pretending, in a former paper, to hope that law would be repealed; wherein the commons being disappointed, took care however to send many of the *Palatines* away, and to represent their being invited over as a pernicious counsel.

The *qualification-bill*, incapacitating all men to serve in parliament, who have not some estate in land, either in possession or certain reversion, is perhaps the greatest security that ever was contrived for preserving the constitution, which otherwise might in a little time lie wholly at the mercy of the *monied* interest. And since much the greatest part of the taxes is paid, either immediately from land, or from its productions, it is but common justice, that those, who are the proprietors, should appoint what portion of it ought to go to

the support of the publick; otherwise the engrossers of money would be apt to lay heavy loads on others, which themselves never touch with one of their fingers.

The public debts were so prodigiously increased by the negligence and corruption of those, who had been managers of the revenue, that the late ministers, like careless men who run out their fortunes, were so far from any thoughts of payment, that they had not the courage to state or compute them. The parliament found, that thirty-five millions had never been accounted for; and that the debt on the navy, wholly unprovided for, amounted to nine millions. The late *chancellor of the Exchequer* [z], suitable to his transcendent genius for public affairs, proposed a fund to be security for that immense debt, which is now confirmed by a law, and is likely to prove the greatest restoration and establishment of the kingdom's credit. Not content with this, the legislature hath appointed commissioners of accounts, to inspect into past mismanagements of the public money, and prevent them for the future.

I have, in a former paper, mentioned the act for building fifty new churches in *London* and *Westminster*, with a fund appropriated for that pious and noble work. But while I am mentioning acts of piety, it would be unjust to conceal my lord *high treasurer's* concern for religion, which hath ex-

[z] Earl of Oxford.

tended even to another kingdom: his lordship having some months ago obtained of her majesty, the first fruits and tenths to the clergy of *Ireland*, as he is known to have before done to that reverend body here [a].

The act for carrying on a trade to the *South-sea*, proposed by the same great person, whose thoughts are perpetually employed, and ever with success, on the good of the country, will, in all probability, if duly executed, be of mighty advantage to the kingdom, and an everlasting honour to the present parliament.

I might go on further, and mention that seasonable law against excessive gaming; the putting a stop to that scandalous fraud of false musters in the guards; the diligent and effectual enquiry made by the commons into several gross abuses. I might produce many instances of their impartial justice in deciding controverted elections, against *former example*, and great provocations to retaliate. I might shew their chearful readiness in granting such vast supplies; their great unanimity, not to be broken by all the arts of a malicious and cunning faction; their unfeigned duty to the QUEEN; and lastly, that representation made to her majesty from the house of commons, discovering such a spirit and disposition in that noble assembly to redress all those evils, which a long male-administration had brought upon us.

[a] See the author's letters to archbishop *King*, vol. xiv, &c.

It is probable, that, trusting only to my memory, I may have omitted many things of great importance; neither do I pretend further in the compass of the paper, than to give the world some general, however imperfect, idea how worthily this great assembly hath discharged the trust of those, who so freely chose them; and what we may reasonably hope and expect from the piety, courage, wisdom, and loyalty, of such excellent patriots, in a time so fruitful of occasions to exert the greatest abilities.

And now I conceive the main design I had in writing these papers is fully executed. A great majority of the nation is at length thoroughly convinced, that the QUEEN proceeded with the highest wisdom in changing her ministry and parliament; that, under a former administration, the greatest abuses of all kinds were committed, and the most dangerous attempts against the constitution for some time intended. . The whole kingdom finds the present persons in power directly and openly pursuing the true service of their QUEEN and country; and to be such, whom their most bitter enemies cannot tax with bribery, covetousness, ambition, pride, insolence, or any pernicious principles in religion or government.

For my own particular, those little barking curs, which have so constantly pursued me, I take to be of no further consequence to what I have written, than the scoffing slaves of old, placed behind the chariot to put the general in mind of his mortality;

which was but a thing of form, and made no stop or disturbance in the show. However, if those perpetual snarlers against me had the same design, I must own they have effectually compassed it; since nothing can well be more mortifying than to reflect, that I am of the same species with creatures capable of uttering so much scurrility, dulness, falsehood, and impertinence, to the scandal and disgrace of human nature [b].

[b] As N^o. 13. was the first of these papers written by Dr. Swift, N^o. 44. was the last. Six more have been printed in the *Irish* Edition, which is a proof, among many others, that he was not the Editor. In a letter of his to *Stella*, dated *June 7th, 1711*, the day on which the *Examiner* N^o. 44. was published, there is the following paragraph: "As for the *Examiner*, I have heard a whisper, that
 " after that of this day, which tells what this parliament has done,
 " you will hardly find them so good: I prophesy they will be trash
 " for the future; and methinks in this day's *Examiner* the author
 " talks doubtfully, as if he would write no more, so that if they go
 " on, they may probably be by some other hand; which in my opi-
 " nion is a thousand pities; but who can help it? Observe whether
 " the change be discovered in *Dublin*; only for your own curiosity." In a subsequent letter, dated *August 24th*, he says, "the *Examiner*
 " has been down this month, and was very silly the five or six last
 " papers."

S O M E
A D V I C E
Humbly offered to the
M E M B E R S
O F T H E
O C T O B E R C L U B.

In a LETTER from a PERSON of HONOUR.

Written in the Year MDCCXI.

T H E



PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

ABOUT the year, when her late majesty of blessed memory thought proper to change her ministry, and brought in Mr. *Harley*, Mr. *St. John*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and some others; the first of these being made an earl and lord treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends for not making a general sweep of all the *whigs*, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time, a great number of parliament men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body, under the name of the *October Club*, and had many meetings to consult upon some methods, that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch in removing all of the *whig* leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy members, the rest of the ministry joined with the treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide, those who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed author met a considerable number of this club in a public-house, where he convinced them very plainly of the treasurer's sincerity,

sincerity, with many of those very reasons, which are urged in the following discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that time in print.

The treasurer alledged, in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice; that several gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her majesty, had never been violent party-men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their queen and country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her majesty those gentlemen, whose principles with regard both to church and state his friends would approve of; and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus the earl proceeded in procuring employments for those, who deserved them by their honesty and abilities to execute them; which I confess to have been a singularity not very likely to be imitated. However, the gentlemen of this club still continued uneasy that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those who were least violent began to soften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following discourse was very seasonably published, with great success; shewing the difficulties that the earl of *Oxford* lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be true loyal church-

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men,

men, zealous for her majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the succession in the house of *Hanover*, if the queen should happen to die without issue. This discourse having been published about the year 1711, and many of the facts forgotten, would not have been generally understood without some explanation, which we have now endeavoured to give, because it seems a point of history too material to be lost. We owe this piece of intelligence to an intimate of the supposed author *.

* See a fuller account, both of this CLUB and of the methods by which it was reduced, in vol. xv.

SOME

S O M E
A D V I C E

Humbly offered to the

M E M B E R S

O F T H E

O C T O B E R C L U B.

GENTLEMEN,

SINCE the first institution of your society, I have always thought you capable of the greatest things. Such a number of persons, members of parliament, true lovers of our constitution in church and state, meeting at certain times, and mixing business and conversation together without the forms and constraint necessary to be observed in public assemblies, must very much improve each other's understanding, correct and fix your judgment, and prepare yourselves against any designs of the opposite party. Upon the opening of this session, an incident hath happened, to provide against the consequences whereof will require your utmost vigilance and application. All this last summer the enemy was working under ground, and laying their train; they gradually became more frequent

frequent and bold in their pamphlets and papers, while those on our side were dropped, as if we had no farther occasion for them. Some time before, an opportunity fell into their hands, which they have cultivated ever since; and thereby have endeavoured in some sort to turn those arts against us, which had been so effectually employed to their ruin: a plain demonstration of their superior skill at intrigue; to make a stratagem succeed a second time, and this even against those who first tried it upon them. I know not whether this opportunity I have mentioned could have been prevented by any care, without straining a very *tender point*, which those chiefly concerned avoided by all means, because it might seem a counterpart of what they had so much condemned in their predecessors; although it is certain the two cases were widely different; and if policy had once got the better of good-nature, all had been safe, for there was no other danger in view: but the consequences of this were foreseen from the beginning: and those who *kept the watch* had early warning of it. It would have been a master-piece of prudence in this case to have made a *friend* of an *enemy*. But whether that were possible to be compassed, or whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to enquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at *Windsor*, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous for that situation of affairs; and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great minister. It

was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a *husband* were so closely united with those of a *wife*, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, although she neither loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from *domestic tyranny*, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, *early* practised in all the arts of intriguing. Neither is it safe to count upon the weakness of any man's understanding, who is thoroughly possessed with the spirit of revenge to sharpen his invention: nothing else is required besides *obsequiousness* and *affiduity*; which, as they are often the talents of those who have no better, so they are apt to make impressions upon the *best* and *greatest* minds.

It was no small advantage to the *designing party*, that, since the adventure at *Windsor*, the *person on whom we so much depend* was long absent by sickness; which hindered him from pursuing those measures; that ministers are in prudence forced to take, to defend their country and themselves against an irritated faction. The *negotiators* on the other side improved this favourable conjuncture to the utmost; and, by an unparalleled boldness, accompanied with many falsehoods, persuaded certain lords (who were already in the same principle, but were afraid of making a wrong step, lest it should *lead them out of their coaches into the dirt*) that voting in appearance against the court would be the safest course to avoid the danger they most apprehended, which was
that

that of losing their pensions; and their opinions, when produced, would, by seemingly contradicting their interest, have an appearance of virtue into the bargain. This, with some arguments of more *immediate power*, went far in producing that strange unexpected turn we have so lately seen; and from which our adversaries reckoned upon such wonderful effects; and some of them, particularly my lord chief justice, began to act as if all were already in their power.

But, although the more immediate causes of this desertion were what I have above related, yet I am apt to think, it would hardly have been attempted, or at least not have succeeded, but for a prevailing opinion, that the church party and the ministers had different views, or at least were not so firmly united as they ought to have been. It was commonly said, and, I suppose, not without some ground of truth, that many gentlemen of your club were discontented to find so *little done*; that they thought it looked as if people were *not in earnest*; that they expected to see a *thorough change* with respect to employments; and, although every man could not be provided for, yet when all places were filled with persons of good principles, there would be fewer complaints and less danger from the other party; that this change was hoped for all last summer, and even to the opening of the session, yet nothing done. On the other hand, it was urged by some, in favour of the ministry, that it was impos-

sible to find employments for one *pretender* in twenty ; and therefore, in gratifying one, nineteen would be disobliged ; but, while all had leave to hope, they would all endeavour to deserve ; but this again was esteemed a very shallow policy, which was too easily seen through, must soon come to an end, and would cause a general discontent ; with twenty other objections to which it was liable : and, indeed, considering the short life of ministers in our climate, it was with some reason thought a little hard, that those, for whom any employment was intended, should, by such a delay, be probably deprived of half their benefit ; not to mention, that a ministry is best confirmed, when all inferior officers are in its interest.

I have set this cause of complaint in the stronger light, although my design is to endeavour that it should have no manner of weight with you, as I am confident our adversaries counted upon, and do still expect to find mighty advantages by it.

But it is necessary to say something to this objection, which in all appearance lieth too hard upon the present ministry. What shall I offer upon so tender a point ? How shall I convey an answer that none will apprehend, except those for whom I intend it ? I have often pitied the condition of great ministers upon several accounts ; but never so much upon any, as when their duty obliges them to bear the blame and envy of actions, for which they will not be answerable in the next world, although they dare

dare not convince the present, until it is too late. This letter is sent you, *gentlemen*, from no mean hand, nor from a person uninformed, although, for the rest, as little concerned in point of interest for any change of ministry, as most others of his fellow-subjects. I may therefore assume so much to myself, as to desire you will depend upon it, that a short time will make manifest, how little the defect you complain of ought to lie at *that door*, where your enemies would be glad to see you place it. The wisest man, who is not very near the spring of affairs, but views them only in their issues and events, will be apt to fix applauses and reproaches in the wrong place; which is the true cause of a weakness, that I never yet knew great ministers without; I mean, their being deaf to all advice: for, if a person of the best understanding offers his opinion in a point where he is not master of all the circumstances (which perhaps are not to be told), it is an hundred to one but he runs into an absurdity: from whence it is, that ministers falsely conclude themselves to be equally wiser than others in general things, where the common reason of mankind ought to be the judge, and is probably less biassed than theirs. I have known a great man of excellent parts blindly pursue a point of no importance, against the advice of every friend he had, until it ended in his ruin. I have seen great abilities rendered utterly useless, by unaccountable and unnecessary delay, and by difficulty of access, by

which a thousand opportunities are suffered to escape. I have observed the *strongest shoulders* to sink under too great a load of business, for want of dividing a due proportion among others. These, and more that might be named, are obvious failings, which every rational man may be allowed to discern, as well as lament; and wherein the wisest minister may receive advice from others of inferior understanding. But in those actions where we are not thoroughly informed of all the motives and circumstances, it is hardly possible, that our judgment should not be mistaken. I have often been one of the company, where we have all blamed a measure taken, which hath afterwards proved the only one that could possibly have succeeded. Nay, I have known those very men, who have formerly been in the secret of affairs, when a new sett of people hath come in, offering their refinements and conjectures, in a very plausible manner, upon what was passing, and widely err in all they advanced.

Whatever occasions may have been given for complaints, that *enough hath not been done*, those complaints should not be carried so far as to make us *forget what hath been done*, which at first was a great deal more than we hoped, or thought practicable; and you may be assured, that so much courage and address were not employed in the beginning of so great a work, without a resolution of carrying it thro' as fast as opportunities would offer. Any of the most sanguine gentlemen in your club would gladly

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have

have compounded, two years ago, to have been assured of seeing affairs in the present situation : it is principally to the abilities of *one great man*, that you, *gentlemen*, owe the happiness of meeting together, to cultivate good principles, and form yourselves into a body for defending your country against a restless and dangerous faction. It is to the *same* we all owe that mighty change in the most important posts of the kingdom ; that we see the sacred person of our *prince* encompassed by those, whom we ourselves would have chosen, if it had been left to our power ; and, if every thing besides that you could wish hath not been hitherto done, you will be but just to impute it to some powerful, although *unknown*, *impediments*, wherein the ministry is more to be lamented than blamed. But there is good reason to hope, from the vigorous proceedings of the court, that these *impediments* will, in a short time, effectually be removed : and one great motive to hasten the removal of them will doubtless be the reflexion upon those dangerous consequences, which had like to have ensued upon not removing them before. Besides, after so plain and formidable a conviction that mild and moderate methods meet with no other reception or return, than to serve as opportunities to the insatiable malice of an enemy ; power will awaken to vindicate itself, and disarm its opposers, at least of all *offensive weapons*.

Consider, if you please, how hard beset the present ministry hath been on every side : by the im-

possibility of carrying on the war any longer, without taking the most desperate courses; or of recovering *Spain* from the house of *Bourbon*, although we could continue it many years longer: by the clamours of a faction against any peace, without that condition, which the most knowing among themselves allowed to be impracticable: by the secret cabals of foreign ministers, who have endeavoured to inflame our people, and spirited up a sinking faction, to blast all our endeavours for peace with those popular reproaches of *France* and the *pretender*: not to mention the danger they have been in, from private *insinuations of such a nature* as it was almost impossible to fence against. These clouds now begin to blow over; and those, who *are at the helm* will have leisure to look about them, and compleat what yet remains to be done.

That confederate body, which now makes up the adverse party, consisteth of an union so monstrous and unnatural, that, in a little time, it must of necessity fall to pieces. The *dissenters*, with reason, think themselves betrayed and sold by their *brethren*. What they have been told, that the present *bill* against *occasional conformity* was to prevent a greater evil, is an excuse too gross to pass; and if any other profound refinement were meant, it is now come to nothing. The remaining sections of the party have no other tie, but that of an inveterate hatred and rancour against those in power, without agreeing in any other common interest, not cemented

mented by principle or personal friendship : I speak particularly of their leaders ; and although I know that court-enmities are as inconstant as its friendships, yet, from the difference of temper and principle, as well as the scars remaining of former animosities, I am persuaded their league will not be of long continuance : I know several of them, who will never pardon those with whom they are now in confederacy ; and when once they see the present ministry thoroughly fixed, they will grow weary of *hunting upon a cold scent*, or playing a *desperate game*, and crumble away.

On the other side, while the malice of that party continues in vigour, while they yet feel the bruises of their fall, which pain them afresh since their late *disappointment*, they will leave no arts untried to recover themselves ; and it behoves all, who have any regard for the safety of the QUEEN or her kingdom, to join unanimously against an adversary, who will return full fraught with vengeance upon the first opportunity that shall offer : and this perhaps is more to be regarded, because that party seem yet to have a reserve of hope in the *same quarter from whence their last reinforcement came*. Neither can any thing cultivate this hope of theirs so much as a disagreement among ourselves founded upon a jealousy of the ministry, who, I think, need no better a testimony of their good intentions, than the incessant *rage* of the *party leaders* against them.

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There is one fault, which both sides are apt to charge upon themselves, and very generously commend their adversaries for the contrary virtue. The *tories* acknowledge, that the *whigs* out-did them in rewarding their friends, and adhering to each other: the *whigs* allow the same to the *tories*. I am apt to think, that the former may a little excel the latter in this point; for doubtless the *tories* are less vindictive of the two; and whoever is remiss in *punishing*, will probably be so in *rewarding*; although, at the same time, I well remember the clamours often raised, during the reign of that party, against the leaders, by those who thought their merits were not rewarded; and they had reason on their side, because it is, no doubt, a misfortune to forfeit *honour* and *conscience* for nothing: but surely the case is very different at this time, when whoever adheres to the administration, doth service to GOD, his prince, and his country, as well as contributes to his own private interest and safety.

But, if the *whig* leaders were more grateful in rewarding their friends, it must be avowed likewise, that the bulk of them were in general more zealous for the service of their party, even when abstracted from any private advantage, as might be observed in a thousand instances; for which I would likewise commend them, if it were not natural for mankind to be more *violent in an ill cause* than a good one.

The perpetual discord of factions, with several changes of late years, in the very nature of our
government,

government, have controlled many maxims among us. The *court* and *country party*, which used to be the old division, seems now to be ceased, or suspended for *better times* and *worse princes*. The QUEEN and ministry are at this time fully in the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore the *court* and *country* are of a side; and the *whigs*, who originally were of the latter, are now of neither, but an independent faction, nursed up by the *necessities* or *mistakes* of a late good, although *unexperienced*, prince. *Court* and *country* ought therefore to join their forces against these common enemies, until they are entirely dispersed and disabled. It is enough to arm ourselves against them, when we consider that the greatest misfortunes which can befall the nation, are what would answer their *interest* and their *wishes*; a perpetual war increases their money, breaks and beggars their *landed enemies*. The ruin of the church would please the *dissenters*, *deists*, and *socinians*, whereof the body of their party consists. A *commonwealth*, or a *protector*, would gratify the *republican principles* of some, and the ambition of others among them.

I would infer from hence, that no discontents of an inferior nature, such I mean as I have already mentioned, should be carried so far as to give any ill impression of the present ministry. If all things have not been hitherto done as you, *gentlemen*, could reasonably wish, it can be imputed only to the *secret instruments* of that faction. The truth

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of this hath appeared, from some late incidents, more visibly than formerly. Neither do I believe that any one will now make a doubt, whether a *certain person* be in *earnest*, after the united and avowed endeavours of a whole party to strike directly at his head.

When it happens, by some private cross intrigues, that a great man hath not the power which is thought due to his station, he will however probably desire the reputation of it, without which he neither can preserve the dignity, nor hardly go thro' the common business, of his place; yet it is that reputation to which he owes all the envy and hatred of others, as well as his own disquiets. Mean time, his expecting friends impute all their disappointments to some deep design, or his defect of good will; and his enemies are sure to cry up his excess of power, especially in those points where they are confident it is most shortened. A minister, in this difficult case, is sometimes forced to preserve his credit by forbearing what *is* in his power, for fear of discovering how far the limits extend of what is *not*; or, perhaps, for fear of shewing an inclination contrary to that of his master. Yet all this while he lies under the reproach of *delay*, *unsteadiness*, or *want of sincerity*. So that there are many inconveniences and dangers either in discovering or concealing the want of power. Neither is it hard to conceive that ministers may happen to suffer for the *sins of their predecessors*,
who,

who, by their great abuses and monopolies of power and favour, have taught princes to be more thrifty for the future in the distribution of both. And as, in common life, whoever hath been long confined is very fond of his liberty, and will not easily endure the very appearance of restraint, even from those who have been the instruments of setting him free; so it is with the recovery of power, which is usually attended with an undistinguished jealousy, lest it should be again invaded. In such a juncture, I cannot discover, why a wise and honest man should venture to place himself at the head of affairs, upon any other regard than the safety of his country, and the advice of *Socrates*, to *prevent an ill man from coming in*.

Upon the whole, I do not see any one ground of suspicion or dislike, which you, *gentlemen*, or others who wish well to their country, may have entertained about persons or proceedings, but what may probably be misapprehended, even by those who think they have the best information *. Nay, I will venture to go one step farther, by adding, that, although it may not be prudent to speak out upon this occasion, yet whoever will reason impartially upon the whole state of affairs, must entirely acquit the ministry of that delay and neutrality, which have

* On the dissolution of this club, a considerable number of the members belonging to it formed another, under the denomination of the *March-club*, which was, however, of no long duration; a circumstance owing to the prudent management of the Treasurer and Mr. Secretary *St. John*.

been laid to their charge. Or suppose some small part of this accusation were true (which I positively know to be otherwise, whereof the world will soon be convinced), yet the consequences of any resentment at this time must either be none at all, or the most fatal that can be imagined; for, if the present ministry be made so uneasy, that a change be thought necessary, things will return of course into the old hands of those, whose *little fingers will be found heavier than their predecessors loins*. The *whig faction* is so dextrous at corrupting, and the people so susceptible of it, that you cannot be ignorant how easy it will be, after such a turn of affairs, upon a new election to procure a majority against you. They will resume their power with a spirit like that of *Marius* or *Sylla*, or the last triumvirate; and those ministers, who have been most censured for too much hesitation, will fall the first sacrifices to their vengeance: but these are the smallest mischiefs to be apprehended from such returning exiles. What security can a prince hope for his person, or his crown, or even for the monarchy itself? He must expect to see his best friends brought to the scaffold, for *asserting his rights*; to see his *prerogative* trampled on, and his *treasure* applied to *feed the avarice of those, who make themselves his keepers*; to hear himself treated with insolence and contempt; to have his *family purged at pleasure* by their humour and malice; and to retain even the name and shadow of a king no longer than his *ephori* shall think fit.

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These are the inevitable consequences of such a change of affairs, as that evenomed party is now projecting; which will best be prevented by your firmly adhering to the present ministry, until this *domestic enemy* is out of all possibility of making head any more.

END OF VOL. VIII.







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